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**IN MEMORIES TO THE FUTURE, BUILDING FROM  
SPONTANEITY:  
RECONSIDERING OCCIDENTAL THEORIES AND THIRD WORLD REALITIES.**

by

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*To  
Kamal Reza and  
Razia Tyabji, Reza  
(Ammi and Abba)  
for their love guidance and support*





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# In Memories to the future, Building from Spontaneity: Reconsidering Occidental Theories and Third World Realities

by  
AHMEREEN REZA

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## ABSTRACT

Can we use single occidental methods and theory in the act of “place making” in the Third World? The act of “place making” is an important phenomena, particularly in creating a sense of continuity in the transformation of a built environment. It is an interactive layering of events and activities in the development of a place. This thesis is an exploration in reconsidering the application and interpretation of occidental theories which are inadequate and inappropriate to the realities of the Third World. This is demonstrated by the misinterpretation of scientific methods and history which are used towards a single problem solving exercises. The purpose of this thesis is to raise questions on the intentions behind these occidental methods and their interpretation by others. The first two sections analyze the precedents to the application of occidental methods. The final reflective section is an exploration of spontaneous settlements demonstrating the interactive process used towards “place making”.

The first chapter explores colonialism as a precedent to applying occidental methods in third world cities. Consequently, these inherited standards, theories and methods to the built environment frequently, demonstrate inappropriate control and classes segregation. The Second chapter reconsiders the myth of present occidental theories, methods and inquiries towards “place making”, it explores their intentions, application and misinterpretation. These theories and analysis are inadequate and inappropriate to the realities of the third world as they frequently do not consider the multiplicity of contextual factors, some induced from place, others generated outside of a place. Consequently, a place is frequently a product of a single event which is interpreted as models for replication or are manipulate to benefit the power elite.

The Third chapter explores ‘learning from spontaneity’ and is directed particularly to spontaneous settlements in the third world. This exploration demonstrates the interactive ‘cross sectional universe’ which impact the built environment. This universe considers place making as a dynamic layering of events and activities through our interpretation of history, economics, politics, society, class, empirical data, market and international forces. It reveals the systemic evolution of space developed according to *implicit* rules firmly bound to their history, a market exchange society, and the prevalent cultural values, thus recalling *explicit* memories to the future.

Thesis Supervisor: Nabeel Hamdi  
Title: Lecturer

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## Chapter I

### Introduction

The introduction is not something separate from the work itself but its true and necessary beginning. It necessarily establishes that of which it is the beginning; as different from that out of which it 'arises'. An introduction is not a "mere demarcation or limit but indeed the entirety of what is to be." (Gillispie, 1985 p. 63)

In defining the beginning of "In memories to the future" it is the seed out of which springs the body of explorations "to the future", it distinguishes the analysis of "occidental theories" which precedes it and constitutes as it is. This does not mean that the introduction is likewise the historical beginning- indeed it arises from the consciousness only at the last ; rather it is precisely because it is last that it is always first. Therefore the 'beginnings' of the thesis was out of a rejection for scientific methodology, that absolute knowledge in the empirical or phenomenal realm of positive but limited knowledge. However, it 'arises' from the need to understand the act of 'place making' for the common man in developing countries.

The introduction sets the platform of my convictions towards "place making". It is divided into four sections which are categorized under: i) Setting the platform; ii) Universe of the Cross sectional search; explores the issues which help develop environments ; iii) a reflection on Science and History towards an

understanding of how they are used in validating a method; iv) The frames of exploration.

#### Setting the platform

To define the platform of my convictions; I begin with a primary concern towards the act of "place making" for the common man. The premise of my thought is born from the dichotomy of professional convictions that are linked to the socio - spatial dualities in the built environment of developing countries. These dualities have developed due to the inappropriate and inadequate use of occidental theories. The purpose of the thesis is to raise questions on the methods applied, their intentions and the limited interpretations of these methodologies by professionals.

One of the many factors which have caused the socio-spatial dualities are reflective of the misinterpreted influence of western thinking. These thoughts have been blindly adopted into the educational, professional and political institutions of the third world. Therefore, it is an inquiry into the existence and intentions of the western urban forms and methods in a non-western context. Such methods are used to evaluate the self built environments of spontaneous settlements in Third world countries. The implicit methods and rules applied in the development of spontaneous

settlements are explored in this thesis to clarify the issues raised by the inadequacy of occidental methods. This exploration expresses a negation to the theory of cartesian analysis 'cookie cutting' - a linear rationalized process of problem solving. The concept of cookie cutting is when an environment is analyzed. This area is studied in sections in order to apparently achieve a comprehensive view. The result of these sections are consequently used for the replication in other built environments. An important factor which might be overlooked is the critical link of the entire area to its smaller parts which aid in the development of a place. This method of analysis provides limitations due to its reliance on single factors used in perceiving a place.. It is not a critique on architectural movements such as Colonialism, Post Colonialism, Modern Movement or Post modernism, or the "comatose" present environment. But an attempt in establishing frame of references subsequent to an exploration of limiting methodologies. It is an attempt to unite the sight with insight, providing memories to the future...

Moreover, in the interactive evolution of "place making"; if it is the 'creator' of the place who provides the stimulus which allows for life and human events to enhance and explore the potential of the 'creation'. This notion of "place making" calls for a need to clarify the ambiguity in the term "the creator"; therefore is it the architect, the occupant, or the human events. Can the phenomena of 'place making' be characterized with a single factor or is it an interactive process of

forces acting at different levels of development. A cross-section of the built environment presents the diagrammatic view in understanding my universe. It demonstrates the linkages to intangible forces and tangible factors within a tacit framework of a society and the built environment.

## **Universe of the Cross sectional search**

### **The interactive universe**

The investigation of built environments specific to developing countries establishes the premise of my universe. This universe of cross sectional cuts through a built environment reflects and elucidates the interaction between universes of knowledge and the reality of its interpretation. Places are implicitly and explicitly linked to various worlds which are shaped by our intentions, convictions and experiences. These worlds are considered invalid if they are not contingent upon factors of change in: culture, effective use of historical precedents, politics and the economic market.

Environments which are products of the linear application of a single method do not allow for continual change. In this case, the interventions are solutions to a single problem, independent of the preceding environment or the events created by the relentless plight of development. The richness and complexity in the act of "place making" is derived from the interaction of various worlds and factors effecting its development. Spontaneous settlements will be used as examples for the development of a place through its history of event.

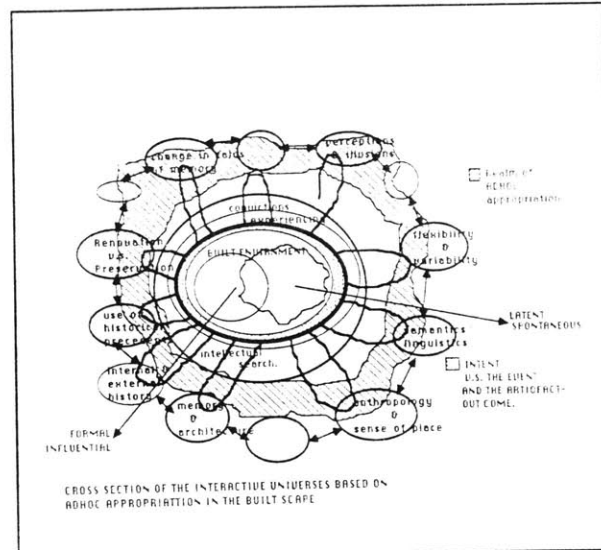


In this case, history is a continuous phenomena of accidents, juxtapositioning of conjectures and human events with adhoc appropriation.

### the interactive fibers.

The exploration in "place making" is an attempt in combining the various universes and fibers of knowledge in order to develop a metaphoric rope, be it science, history, politics, theory, our convictions and perceptions . The fibers are not only dependent on the interactive weave but also the saturation of the fiber in the history and society of a place, continually changing within its development.

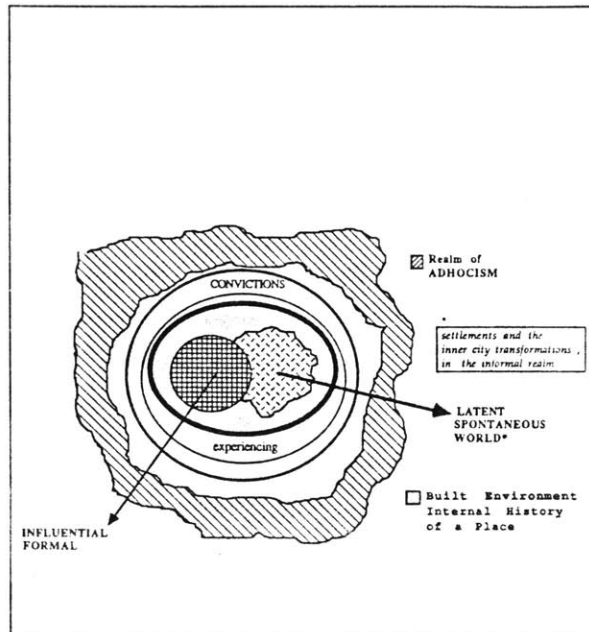
The proximity of the various fibers allow for the change to occur as demonstrated in the cross-section of universes.(frame 1.1) The investigation towards the act of place making are dependent on universe of factors. These universes are defined within the application, intentions and interpretation of a method. While the factors are defined within the knowledge of history, culture, the market economy and the ambiguous position between the state power and society, derived through adhoc appropriation which reflects the unpredictable character of human activities. Therefore, places can be explored based on the defined areas of interest by the explorer and his/her knowledge base. The blank sphere are in anticipation of other universe introduced and developed for future changes or others insight to the environment that affect the physical manifestation of habitable places.



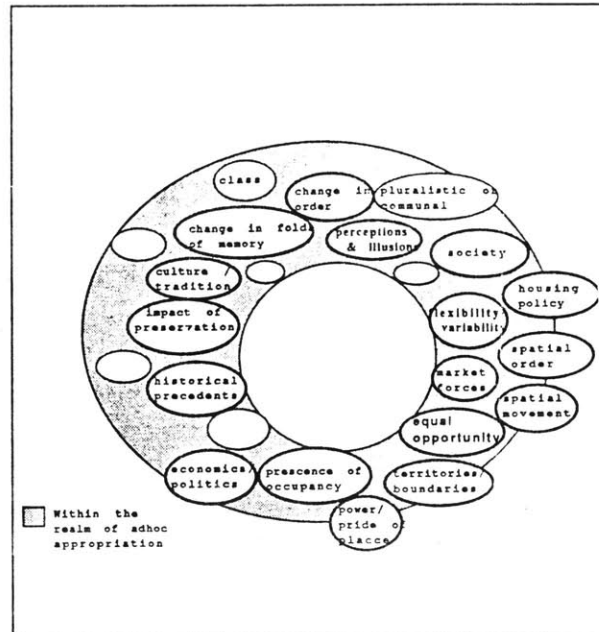
Frame 1.1 . Cross section of a place in time.

### influential and latent environment.

The interaction of these universes produces a "potential" one that includes influential and latent environments.(frame 1.2) The influential environment is that portion which is adopted by the user. For the purpose of this exploration the influential environment is a result of the application of occidental methods and theory or those environments developed with an implicit knowledge of the user, made explicit through an investigation. The spontaneous settlements are latent environments and reflect the unrealized potential environment which is not explicitly assimilated by the user. The influential segment of environments can be categorized into the formal and the informal. The formal is developed by through methods develop by architects , planners, anthropologist, sociologists and other professional related to the built environments. While the informal represents the self built environments developed by the people.



Frame 1.2. Cross section of the latent and influential built environment.

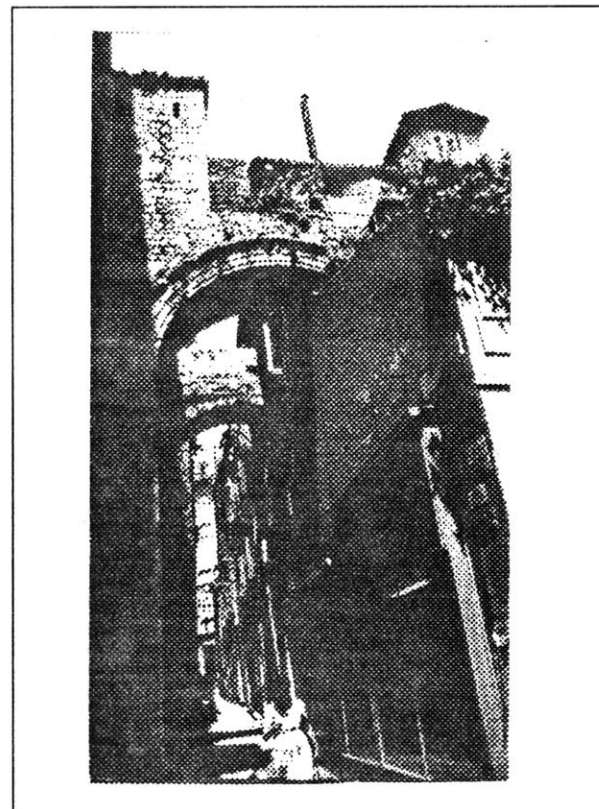


Frame 1.4. Cross section of the External History of the built environment.

Therefore, these latent environments that theoretically exist will be explored for their physical interpretation. An example of latent environments made explicit in the history of its development, is seen by the growth of networks and linkages in the Diocletian Palace of Split.(Frame 1.3 ) Similar, yet implicit are the developments seen in spontaneous and squatter settlements of developing countries.(explored in Chapter Three)

### the internal and external history

This analysis makes certain assumptions which need to be stated at the outset. It accepts the fact that the built environment develops through two forms of history. The internal history (frame 1.4) which constitutes the physical world of streets, houses, and spaces and the external history which is derived from the socio-cultural, political,

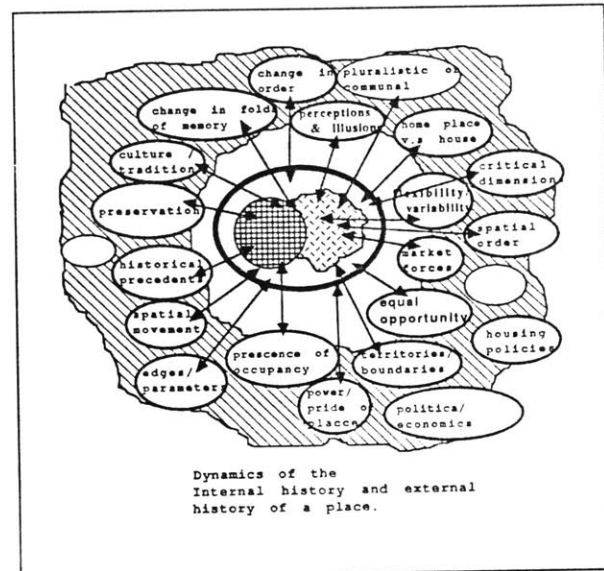


Frame 1.3 Walls of the Diocletian Palace used as support for the newly constructed home and shops.

economic and market forces. The birth of the internal is dependent on the external history of the environment and develops through the interactive process of both. (frame 1.5) Therefore changes in the layers of the external history of habitation leads to a domino effect in the transformation in the urban built environment.

In this exploration it is important to recognize that methods and ideologies are realized through a long and tedious process of connecting the disciplines of history theory and social science. Therefore, the quandary is not merely on the ideas but, the interpretation and application apparently used in understanding the level of complexity and transformations in a built environment. It is this exploration based on single factors of evaluation that are developed in pursuit of a solution which do not consider all the forces that impact the environment.

However this exploration is not towards a classical form of criticism, which usually results in the acceptance or rejection of ideas, but allows for cross-sectional cuts into the dialogue between history, society, perceptions and intentions of design with changes in the built form of a places as its develops in time. These premise of these issues will be explored in the spontaneous built environment described in chapter four. These case explorations are directed to the self expressions of the people, the socio-political and economic conditions, translated into the built form of an environment. The following section reflects on the interpretation of the of history and science. This



Frame 1.5. Cross section of the External and Internal History of the built environment.

will subsequently set a platform on exploring the frame explored in chapters Two and Three.

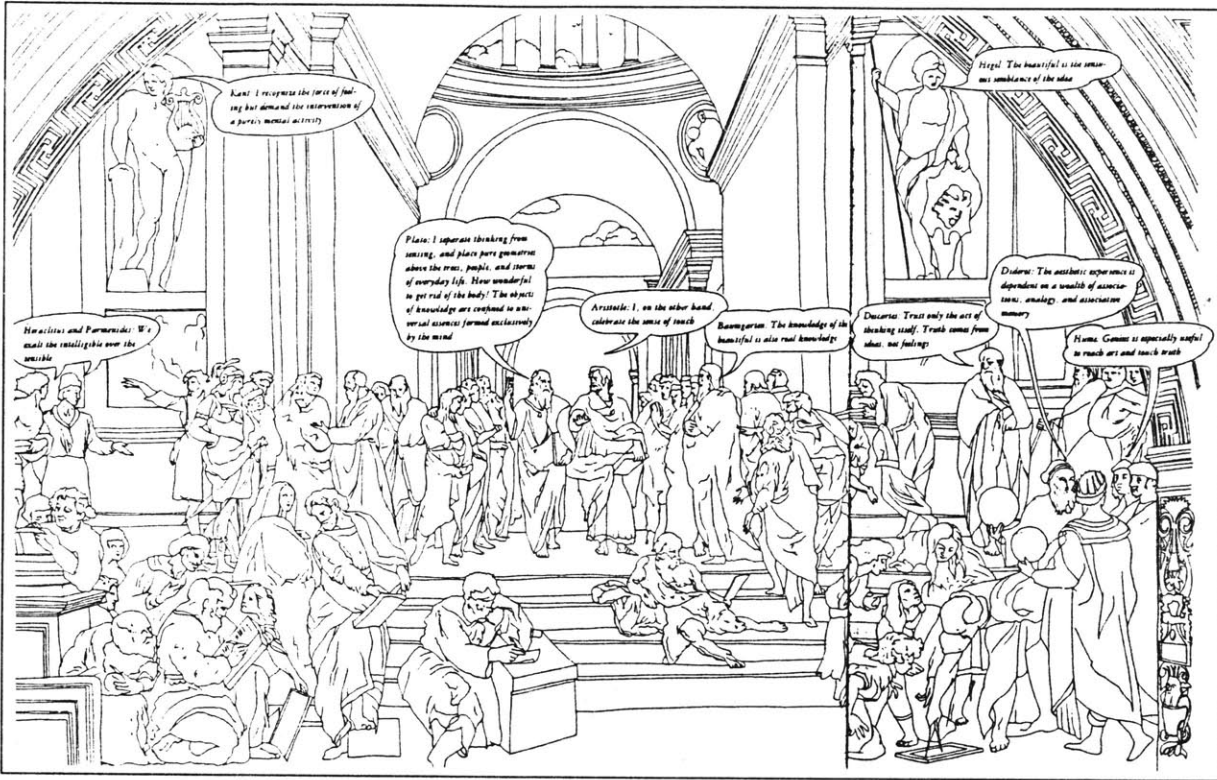
## Reflections on Science and History

"Houses are built to live and not to look on: therefore let us be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had..."

Francis Bacon

### the static state

As architects we learn to see the world with intelligence and sensuality. Intuitive propositions become the means by which we discover the qualities of people and location. Design is the understanding of the implicit rule of an environment whose characteristic is unfolded in the multifarious disciplines (history, science social science an art. etc) of the world with a 'multi chromatic view' rather, than with a singular



problem solving framework. Therefore in formulating questions towards the 'multichromatic view', we have to stand internal to the operative situation, grounded within our own intrinsic principles as well as the context of the built environment. It is an analysis with no additions and/or subtractions to known theories but a multiple of fames for the enhancement of an environment.

The built environment is shaped by a universe of experiences and convictions. But when an intellectual search becomes a singular problem solving marathon, it propagates an artificiality of intentions. It is this rationalized resultant of preconceptions, intentions and intellectual search which creates stoic environments. These methods

which are apparently driven by the chauvinism and history are unqualified in the realm of providing a potential for human events to shape and enrich the habitational qualities of a place.

It is in the profession of architecture where we often use rationalized methodology to relieve us of our responsibility towards making a place. These "methods", under the umbrella of rationalized science, are manipulate to secure our position within an institutional framework or adopted using references as critical standards for design. Frequently, these neutralized states are applied in order to achieve a sense of control, and the responsibility of socio-cultural dilemmas existing in developing countries. The ensuing reflections are in understanding science and history as

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capitalized for validating the intentions and application of methods.

### **the chauvinism of deductive science**

One introduces two major issues concerning the inappropriateness of occidental theories which result in a static urban environment; the first arises from the application intellectual chauvinism within the realm of deductive science in problem solving and history.

The first is the neutralized state as in "polishing , scientific knowledge to the point at which it is stripped of all its singularity , purified of all its accidents and conjectures \_\_ the perfect double, the unmisted mirror of a non verbal knowledge." According to Foucault (1973, p.638) Cuvier attributes to science the project of forming a 'copy' of nature; scientific discourse is to be a 'table of things'. "Table" here had a fundamentally different meaning; it was a matter of dividing up nature by means of a constant table of identities and differences for which language provided the approximate, and rectifiable 'grid'.

Therefore there is a tendency to interpret the ecuminicism of 'Cartesianism developed as indicators and references misinterpreted as a critical standard used for the replication of dwelling places. It appears as though Descartes' cartesian theory misconstrued, consequently, its used in justifying the stencilling of a place irrespective of its implicit traits, with the particular proximity to events and objects and the cultural context. In a sense, we are on a production line of casting universal molds for

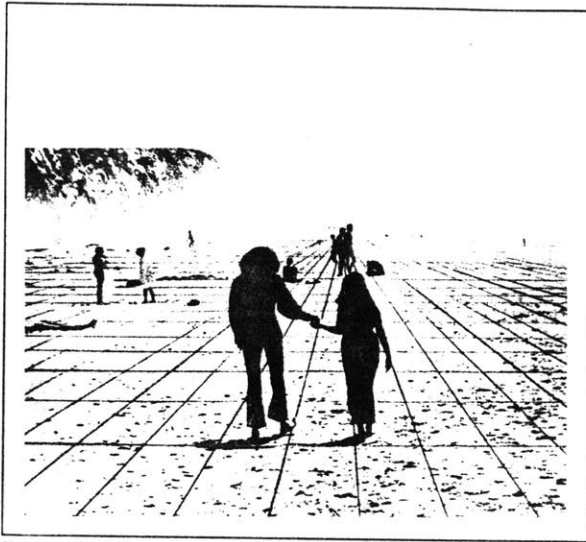
a general place.

The stencilling of the built environment however, calls for a need to understand the notion of science as against pseudo-science (Bacon, Foucault, 1973 p.278) and the notion of historicism. Moreover this knowledge will provide insights through inductive frames of reference and question the existing diversity and the inadequate methodologies. Consequently, these frames, will provide views to the socio-cultural 'weave world' of place making.

A fine example of a scientific solution in the field of building is seen in the problem of constructing a bridge. This solution is derived through a viable deductive mathematical process. It is used in order to understand the forces of compression and tension acting on the bridge. However, in the case of housing the forces acting are a complex collection of variable in the realm of economics, politics, urban sociology etc. Similarly, methods claimed under "pseudo science" are being used for technological manufacturing ends to social and economic problems.

It is variable factors and the forces of social sciences such as sociology, anthropology, economics and politics that affect a place and are so great and interlinked to such a complex variety of interactive factors so that they cannot be simplified through deduction and compartmentalization. We can no longer stop and connect into a plug as seen in the utopian solutions by the SuperStudio, (frame 1.5) Although these solutions are notorious for the exigencies of freedom, they are still in the world of





*Frame 1.6 The utopia of Superstudio the world an abstract cartesian grid.. To reduce existing variety in favor of an ideally uniform stage justified for spontaneous happening.*

the abstract cartesian grid which demands the final emancipation from the tyranny of objects and the elimination of formal structures of power. Yet this non-oppressive egalitarianism would systematically eradicate all existing variety in favour of ideally uniform stage\_\_ of spontaneous happenings. Can one then describe a sites and services project within this definition? Was the notion of sites and services applied for order and control in an already existing world of spontaneity. Moreover, was the application directed to the reduction of opportunities, which was cloaked in the misconception of using self help in building an environment.

Frequently, scientific methodology in occidental theories speak of rules, observations and experimental results as if they were clear cut well defined objects, whose properties are easy to evaluate and are assumed to be understood universally. Particularly, when laying out core

houses, the dimension of the streets, the rooms in the shelter and the open spaces are often applied as universal standards. It is this straight foreword and unqualified judgement of theories by facts which are bound to eliminate ideas simply because they do not fit into the framework of older ideologies and are objective and distant to the situation of a particular place in time.

#### **time as a tool for order**

Although time is an abstract notion it is a receptacle in which events take place. Even though it is the most familiar thing , we still find it enormously difficult to give any kind of theoretical account of it. However internal to the argument of acquiring control and implementing hidden agendas or intentions through methodologies , it is necessary to accommodate the occidental notion of an appropriate time. Past, present and future is recreated anew by each individual. Time in this case becomes a mental device to give order to events by identifying them as coexisting or successive. Rhythms, objects and events exist but time and space are triumphant human inventions. This triumph can be seen in housing projects in Sri Lanka, where the political elites dictate the standards and methods used for their own ends. One such case is in Navagamgoda (analyzed in chapter III-2) For cost recovery purposes the public authority have justified land speculation and took responsibility for setting land prices. Consequently certain area developed are inaccessible to lower income families due to high land cost. In one sense the policy gentrified the area as well as recuperated the development cost.

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### the myth of science

The personification of scientific methods as a myth and a fairy tale, holds true especially in developing countries, where it protects and segregates the intellectuals, heads of organizations and educators from the masses. Providing them with tools of misnomer to control the common man.

This unquestioned superiority is developed on the one hand with the use of 'logical positivism', an extreme form of empiricism according to which theories are not only to be justified by the extent to which they are verified by an appeal to facts acquired through observation, but also are to have meaning only insofar as they can be derived. (A.F. Chalmers, 1976, p. xv.) On the other hand, the artificial empirical languages have been constructed to provide for the unique possibility of a universal generalization of data established through inductive methods of inquiry.

*Although science starts with observation, (A.F. Chalmers, 1976, p. 20.) we can not allow ourselves to get caught in the rationalized knowledge. As observations yield a secure basis for data collection, with such knowledge we reduce our observational insight to a place and therefore are dependent on the end knowledge of the exploration within the world of generalization irrespective of the context. Science is sometimes presented as though it were exclusively the work of high powered mathematicians formulating theories. (Conant, James, 1974 p. 108)*

In the particular case of architecture, it is the unquestioned superiority of rationalized formulas that are inadequate towards the perceptions of active places. (as analyzed by Payne in chapter III-2) For example the compartmentalization of uses and people (e.g. Brasilia and Chandigarh) where the act of sleeping is deliberately separated from recreation and work for better control.

### the episteme of science

In much the same way we all know what science is in that we can point to examples of scientific activity without much trouble. Science is what Einstein was doing when he proposed the general theory of relativity or what Crick and Watson were doing when they discovered the structure of DNA, while non-science is characterized by Bacon (Foucault, 1973 p.281) where such studies as astrology, palmistry, and praying for rain or a good crop.

However we are posed in a quandary when trying to define what science is? To give an adequate account would enable us clearly to demarcate science from non-scientific forms of knowledge (religion and philosophy) and pseudo-science (astrology, phrenology, voodoo, etc.).

Although, Francis Bacon may have criticized the alchemists and magicians of his time, he shared many of their aims and saw them as misguided scientists rather than pseudo-scientists or quacks. Science tended to be seen as a religion. Clearly defining its enemies as heretics. Therefore, there is a need to distinguish science from the other forms

of knowledge, which arise from sociological and quasi-political causes. To the thinkers of 16th and 17th century, it seemed obvious that what defined science and demarcated it from other forms of knowledge was its 'method'. (Feyerabend, 1965, p.23)

### **the methodology to science**

Although, 'method' is a notion associated to the English statesmen and science propagandist. Francis Bacon declares (Foucault, 1973 p.321) its claim, in being based on empirical observation, and experiment as well as inductive generalization. Can we then proclaim any relevance to the enquiry of distinguishing science from non-science and pseudo-science.

We have to partially accept Feyerabend's (1965) claim that science has developed through the aid of non scientific beliefs and procedures, irrational hunches, lucky accidents and fortuitous guesses. For instance, it was this irrational mythical faith that enabled Copernicus and his followers to flout the commonsense evidence that the earth is at rest.

According to Feyerabend, (1965, p. 46) this combination of induction and conjectures is absolutely necessary for the growth of scientific knowledge.<sup>2</sup> A similar combination of deductive and inductive reasoning, conjectures and refutations will explore the understanding of occidental theories in chapter III, IV

However the common understanding of methods is explored by Kuhn where, each scientific epoch is

dominated by what he call paradigms or models which dictate in effect what is to be considered 'science' at any particular time and what is not. Thus the areas of scientific thought that are assumed to be important, the issues that are considered to be 'problems' and those that are not, the style of scientific research even what is considered to be scientific 'facts' - these are all, in a sense, dictated by the paradigms or models of science that are adopted at any one time. We have to therefore 'put on a new thinking cap' and adopt a different view in perceiving our task for understanding 'place making.'

### **the enquiring view to science**

A particular philosophical view or ideology of science which has become attached to it is called "scientism". It is "scientism" which sees science as the one and only true form of knowledge, as the very model of rational enquiry, and as the index of civilization. In this view, to say that an item is 'unscientific' is in effect to say, that it is not knowledge at all. To say that an enquiry is unscientific 'is to say that it is irrational but not worthless. And to say that a culture is 'unscientific' is not to say it is primitive and backward. 'Scientism' may present a central place for scientific values such as objectivity, neutrality, rationality but it

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1. The idea of methods that contains firm, unchanging and absolutely binding principles for conducting the business of science meets considerable difficulty when confronted with the results of historical research. We find then that there is not a single rule however plausible or however firmly grounded in epistemology that is not violated at some point or the other. It becomes evident that such violations are not accidental events, they are not the result of insufficient knowledge or of attention which could have been avoided. On the contrary, we see that they are necessary for progress. (Against Methods. P. K Feyerabend. p. 23 New Left Books, London 1975)



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does not assume that other values - the subjective, the personal, the emotional, the intuitive, the imaginative - are correspondingly downgraded. In other words, it is possible to recognize that science is one of the most astonishing inventions of the human mind without claiming that it is the only, or even the most important, invention of the homosapiens. Therefore, act of spontaneity can be explored under the epistemological umbrella of scientism.

However, to define science in terms of one of its feature for induction, falsification, or rationality (as Bacon, Popper, and Lakatos and their followers have tried to do) is rather like trying single mindedly to define religion in terms of belief in God, or defining art in terms of , say, expressing the beautiful. Therefore, it is not the definition that is in question, but the interpretation and use of science in a limited way . On the one hand in order to mystify and proclaims its superiority to achieve a certain sense of control with that mystification. Therefore, the application and interpretation of *using science* is a misguided notion; for it is the rationalization of methods that have caused such dilemmas.

#### **the dehistoricized past...**

We have not yet mentioned history though it is the first as it were the mother of all the sciences of man and is perhaps as old as human memory. It is true that history existed long before the constitution of human science from the beginning of the Ancient Greek civilization, it has performed a certain number of major functions in the western culture,

memory, myth, transmission of the world, precedent setting, a vehicle of tradition, critical awareness of the present, decipherment of humanity's destiny, and the anticipation of the future, or promise of the return.

We are, however inclined to believe that the nineteenth century, largely for political and social reasons, paid closer attention to human history manipulated to the present time. However, to articulate the past historically does not mean to recognize it "the way it really was" (Ranke) In which case it is Historical materialism that wishes to retain that image of the past which unexpectedly appears to man singled out by history at a moment of danger or unforeseeable circumstances. All rulers are heirs of those who conquered before them. Historical materialists know what that means. A historical materialist perceive the notion of a present which is not a transition, but in which time stands still and has come to a stop. (Benjamin, 1969, p. 262) Where the bourgeoisie attempted to recount their own ascension, encountered in the calender of their victory applied to the destiny of institutions. (as explored in Chapter 2.)

Moreover, there is the imitation and imaginative values assumed from the past, lively curiosity shown for the documents and traces of the past; it seems all this surface expression leads to the simple fact that man found himself emptied of history and "dehistoricized". (Foucault, 1973 p. 368) .

By unveiling the unconscious as its most fundamental object, human science showed that

there was always something that was still to be thought. History shows that everything that has been thought will be thought again by a thought that does not exist.

### **historicism**

In contemporary thought historicism and analytic finitude confront one other. Historicism is a means of validating for itself the perpetual critical relation at play between history and the human science. Historicism sought for the possibility and justification of concrete relations between limited totalities, whose mode of being was predetermined by life, or by social norms.

Historicism brings closer the inappropriate and inadequate ideologies that warrant the critical notion of inductive exploration. This notion is an interactive transformation between the internal and external history of an environment. The street patterns, the houses, spaces and places - internal history evolve and develop through progressive interventions of politics, economics, sociology and cultural factors - the external history of an environment. However the internal history is not the product of a one time consequence; it does not stop development after the initial impact of the external history. This consequently triggers off a progression of transformations in time.

### **an exploration of reality**

In this respect the case of spontaneous settlements is explored where, the expression of freedom has become the recognition of necessity, with the exploration of the market and the need to survive

in the concrete jungle of rationalized and historical caricatures of the past while maintaining strong links to the social norms of a place.

The exploration of spontaneous settlements is an attempt to relate science to common sense and the social sciences within their growth, their internal existence and evolution. It is not a confutation of scientific discovery, nor a search for truth, but towards perceptive observations which are not limited by reliance on single factors. The exploration is defining an approach in understanding and in opening new windows to place making without compartmentalizing the events or functions within the complex operations of life in developing countries.

Theoretical interventions for the most part, are deployed for a matter of control by architects, policy makers, historians archaeologists and planners to developing countries. The specific issues selected are based on the criterion of concern towards Pakistan. A place paralyzed on the one hand by overwhelming memories and a caricature of the Colonial past and on the other hand by the phenomena of "universalization".

The process of understanding the built scape through reflection is a progression with probable tenuous interventions in the future. The inquiry is not towards a grandiose idea of problem solving. It is an attempt to understand the complex depths to be reached in order to manumit ourself from the paralysis caused by rapid development imposed on us by our history, occidental theories, intellectual

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chauvinism, international debts and political pressures.

An exploration of such a paradigm will shed light on the limitations, restrictions, and misinterpretation of scientific and occidental theories. Therefore we are discovering places not with a "problem solving exercise" but in consideration to the action and reaction of events driven by necessity. It is against methods which are limited and inappropriate due to the linear process of mathesis; where the question asked and the direction taken is driven by the solution needed. For it is this chauvinism of science that resists alternatives to the status quo.

The impositions of history and occidental theories is further explored in Chapter Two with the impact of colonialism, which sets a precedent to the concept of applying occidental theories to the Third World.

Moreover the exploration is a cross section of a place at a specific time with *ad hoc approximation*<sup>1</sup> (frame 1.2) and the repercussions of specific forces on the built environment (based on the experience and convictions of the inquirer). The pursuit of such a quest creates a tentative area of contact between 'facts' and those new frame of references which seem capable of exploring after the addition of further consequences, to help construct a progressive sense of place. This analysis is not at the two extremities of the classical episteme, of mathesis as the science of calculable order and a genesis as the analysis of the constitution of order on the bases of empirical series. (Foucault 1973 )

This epistemology of this exploration will hopefully yield a more inductive pursuit of frame of references for an understanding of place making.

## The Frames of Exploration

We as occidental architects have excelled in the *business* of designing specialized buildings i.e. hospital, hotels, offices and private residence, but are caught in the crossfire of professional ethics / convictions and the power of politics particularly when, it comes to the *making of places and dwellings for the common man*. We are used as pawns in the game of chess between hidden agendas and mans basic *need* for a sense of belonging to an environment at a given time. *This dichotomy has handicapped our profession, our fundamental notions towards architectural design while, setting a number of constraints and limitation in the creative act of place making.*

In Pakistan today, these questions seem to clearly be an issue. The exploration originates from the necessity to provide frames of reference in understanding the act of "place making". It is a reconsideration for the application and the interpretation of occidental theories which fail to address the realities of the third world. This is demonstrated by the misinterpretation of scientific methods which are applied towards single problem solving exercises. At present the architects in developing countries are faced with socio-spatial dualities in the built environments. These dualities are a consequence of a combination of factors accentuated by historical rumination, western built

form and with the development of squatter settlements. The purpose of this discernment is to raise the question on the : i) methods ; ii) its intentions; iii) the application; and iv) its interpretations. Subsequently, the first section explores the precedent for the application of occidental methods. The second section analyses occidental methods and inquires. The final reflective section is an exploration into the realities of spontaneous settlement and clarifies some of the questions raised in the prior sections. It is based on the interactive universes (described in this section) towards the act of "place making".

### **The first frame**

The first section explores colonialism as a precedent to using occidental methods in developing countries. The experienced colonialism has demonstrated through the adoption of British socio-spatial standards and the use of occidental methodologies as an effective method of control. This subjugation of the colonized population to western ideologies is one of the many factors which result in the blind adoption of methods. The analysis sets a platform in exploring the historical rumination demonstrated by post colonial cities. The exploration will present the inherent dominant/dependent relationship, its influence on urban development and consequently, the present spatial dissemination of the urban fabric.

This chapter set its case examples in Indo-Pakistan to present the impact of the colonial legacy. Moreover, it explores the implications of socio-spatial dichotomy present within the post colonial

indigenous development which are resultant of the modification following the withdrawal of the colonial power.

Occidental theories are inappropriate and unnecessary especially when they catering to the elites in power. The exploration questions the validity of such methodologies which demonstrate inappropriate control and class segregation. The questions that arise from blind adoption of methods are towards its inappropriate to third world realities. The factors which determine the inappropriateness of methodologies include : the compartmentalization of disciplines social sciences; the linear application of rationalized empirical data collection, and problem solving exercise to socio-spatial urban dichotomy. These factors are analyzed in the next chapter.

### **The second Frame**

The second chapter explores the present methodologies applied to developing countries. These Occidental theories and analysis do not necessarily consider the multiple internal and the external factors which impact development of "place making". Therefore, a place is frequently a product of a single event and interpreted as models for replication. Therefore, scientific methodologies and occidental methods are not incorrect but may not be addressing issues relevant to the low income community. These theories are inadequate and inappropriate to the realities of the third world. They may be tools exploited to benefit the power elite.

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This chapter is not an exercise in solving the problem of using occidental theories and methods. It attempts to raise questions on the misinterpretation and the inappropriateness of the tools used in the implementation and exploration of occidental theories and methods applied to the act of "place making". The questions raised are not for the singular purpose of refuting a specific frame of reference of methodology. The issues are concerns specific to methods applied to achieve certain levels of control. The point of this analysis is not to deny a given frame of theory or method. But to utilize these frames in order to provide an understanding for the act of socio-spatial 'place making'. It will provide a platform for ideas to be explored in the final chapter on learning from spontaneity. It will allow for the development of a dialogue between the intentions, interpretations and application of the methods.

This chapter will present four methodological models to aid in discovering a healthier and appropriate built environment. The first two models illustrate, methods implemented towards central control supported by apparently comprehensive empirical data. The first is the S.A. R. Open Building Design a success within the controlled institutional system of the Netherlands, which is adopted by the Egyptians. The second demonstrates the apparently numerous alternative and options provided for the application of the Navagamgoda site and services project in Sri Lanka.

The last two models are inquires based on the

dilemma of 'inappropriate and inadequate policies in Third World Cities'; Payne demonstrates an apparently comprehensive empirical approach in exploring the unauthorized settlement of Maulana Azad College colony in Delhi. While Nientied and van der Linden analyzed for the dependency on a single factor used to explore the benefits of an upgrading project of 'Baldia' in Karachi, Pakistan. The last two models introduces the limited factors used in discovering place making within spontaneous settlements. The chapter consequently ends with questions raised on the appropriateness of such methods particularly in the exploration of spontaneous settlements. This sets the platform in exploring the interactive process of place making reflected in the evolution of Spontaneous settlements. This exploration on methods provides frames of references that will be explored in the last frame in Learning for Spontaneity.

#### **The reflective frame**

The last chapter is an exploration in 'learning from spontaneity' and is directed particularly to the natural phenomena of spontaneous settlements. It explores the development of two spontaneous settlements: i) The recycling settlements living in the sewerage pipes in Santa Cruz and the settlement of Daulat Nagar in Bandra, Bombay India.

The exploration takes into account the various questions raised by the previous chapter. It demonstrates the need for an interactive cross sectional universe of factor which impact the built environment. This cross sectional universe considers the "act of placemaking" as an interactive

layering of events and activities through our perception of history, economics, politics, society and its class hierarchy, empirical data, market and international forces on built environment in the Third World.

This interactive approach presents frames of reference towards a comprehensive understanding of future urban environments and their linkages to the city and its system of networks. The methods analyzed in the previous chapter have provided for the reflection in the criteria used for exploring Spontaneous settlements within the ordinary lives of the indigenous eastern worlds.

This chapter, is not a chronological analysis on squatter settlements. It is a description of different realities to be considered, not by placing them in

compartments, but by discovering the progressive linkages and forces acting on the development of spontaneous settlements. Such insights to the evolution and vocabulary of spontaneous settlements are not to be used as instruments merely for describing events (facts, and states of affair). Their grammar contains a cosmology – a comprehensive view of the world, of society and of man predicament in Third World Cities. It is expressive through an invisible central exchange of linkages and bonds, the historically changing patterns; demonstrating man's control of his environment or vice versa. It is the discovery in the making of an influential environment from the latent environment. It reveals the systemic evolution of spaces developed according to *implicit* rules firmly bound to their history, a market exchange society, and the prevalent cultural values, thus recalling *explicit* memories to the future.

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### *reflections on the precedent...*

*There is a history behind the application of inappropriate methods and theories, this history is explored in the context of India and Pakistan where colonialism has set a precedent to the application of occidental methods inappropriate and inadequate to the context. The subsequent chapter will reflect on the colonial history to clarify and raise questions on the application of occidental methods. These places have transformed due to the impact of the colonial occupation. This occupation has led to change and adoption of values and standards; Do we as professionals validate the adoption without questioning the intentions of why and what is being adopted, who do they really benefit and for what reasons.....?*





## Caricatures of the Colonial Past.

### Introduction

In academia it has become accepted in recent years that there exists such a thing as “Third World Cities” with distinctive features. There are numerous theories regarding these features. These theories are interpreted as theories for the development of industrialized/ modern cities or the spatial consequence of socio-economic under development. What is not disputed is that these cities are fundamentally different, qualitatively and quantitatively, from the model of the typical western industrialized city with which they are frequently compared. This comparison begs the question of the epistemology which fails to explain the disparity in relationship of the West to the East.

This chapter will present frame of references in which ‘colonial connections’ in Indo-Pakistan are studied as a precedent, in order to explore the introduction and application of occidental methods. These applications demonstrate the need for a sense of identity in the built form in order to achieve an eventual control over the conquered territories of Indo-Pakistan. Inherent in this historical method of control is the application towards industrialization and urbanization. While a range of such concepts cover a wide spectrum, economic and social factors can be clearly

distinguished as constituting two major bases on which such urban theories have developed.

The standards of the present socio-spatial dwelling structures and the factors which condition them induce a sense of confusion and impotence. This sense is exaggerated by several factors including: the compartmentalization of disciplines such as sociology, psychology, anthropology, gerontology and environmental behavior; the linear application of rationalized empirical data collection, and problem solving exercise to socio-spatial urban dichotomy. In view of the lack of any alternative theoretical housing framework, those forms of urbanism singularly analyzed in the wake of the western industrial and urban revolution slowly acquired the status of a “universal norm”. (Payne, 1977, p.8)

In this chapter the frame of references demonstrate the impact of the colonial legacy in cities such as Lahore and Karachi. In these cities there has been a distinct direct impact of colonial urbanism, as in the case of Lahore; and indirectly (imitated by architects, urban planners, economists and policy makers) as in the case of Karachi. Moreover, the frame explores the implication of socio-spatial

dichotomy present within the post colonial indigenous development which are resultant of the modification following the withdrawal of the colonial power.

The exploration of colonialism will present the inherent dominant/dependent relationship, its influence on urban development and consequently, the present spatial dissemination of the urban fabric. This exploration is an attempt to allow for a continuum of an implicit socio-spatial order of dwelling places rather than to introduce a new spatial order. One of the factors involved in the continuum of an implicitly known socio-spatial order is demonstrated by the natural process of immigration and the existence of spontaneous settlements.

However, this continuum of an implicitly known socio-spatial order and the creation of a repository place of activities and events, such a "place making" implies nothing inevitable about the state of affairs. The act of "place making" demonstrated by the tacit knowledge of the socio-spatial order by the common man, provides a multitude of interactive factors to help alleviate the socio-spatial inequalities in 'poorer cities' <sup>1</sup> instead of reinforcing them. If these frames of references can help in some way to create insights in which more egalitarian, flexible and economic alternatives to the realities can be developed, it will have been worthwhile.

Before it is possible to undertake such an analysis, however, it is essential to outline briefly the historical factors which have conditioned the evolution of contemporary urban form: the everlasting effect of colonialism, and its singular application of occidental theories to associated socio-economic structures in the urban-rural dichotomy, with minimum exploration to the multitude of interactive activities within the structure of the economically 'poorer cities'.

## Pre-Colonial

### Cohesive settlement patterns...

Many of the regions and countries which are today claimed as "underdeveloped";<sup>2</sup> had achieved an eminent state of economic and social development at earlier stages of their history. It is believed that these settlement patterns of the Indian subcontinent, preceding the 19th century, ranged from fully developed metropolitan centers to small isolated villages. Intrinsic to the notion of 'place making,' the architecture and technology varied according to the climate and social structure of each area. However, the groupings of these individual communities cannot simply be associated with what Gideon Sjoberg (Payne, 1977, p.17) identifies as the 'pre-industrial city: with its clearly defined social groups but mixed land use patterns.'

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1. I use the term 'poorer cities' instead of designating them as "Third World Cities".

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2. Based on the western definition of underdeveloped as having a lack of sophisticated institutions, Low GNP, and weak economic bargaining power in the international market.

The indigenous settlements reflect both trading and productive patterns specific to need of the various governing dynasties. Prior to contact with European traders, India as a whole was a exporter of many products to East Africa. There was flourishing overland trade link to China and Europe which integrated part of the economies of many Asian societies which lead to the development of sophisticated labour intensive industries producing products for domestic and export market. Cities in the pre-colonial times therefore existed either as productive or processing centers, such as Dacca; served main trading routes, such as Lahore; or were centers of political powers, such as Delhi and Fatehpur Sikri.

Therefore, Indian cities<sup>3</sup> expressed a coherent order, a result of internal regional factors with the recapitalization of the socio-economic system to the area. (No doubt there were varying degrees of exploitation by cities of the rural areas and this may have become harsh on occasions.) Mabogunje (Payne!977, p. 12) has shown that such an internally generated economy has produced a large number of socially cohesive and dynamic urban settlement patterns. It would be naive to suppose that the international flow of resources and rewards operates exclusively at the national level. The exposure to the international world consequently accounted for the changes in the socio-spatial built form.

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3. In this context India refers to the Indian sub-continent, since contemporary national boundaries in the region are a modern innovation.

Implicit in the changes in the built environment is the internal or domestic transformation of cities resulting from colonialism and its continuing effects on the colonized countries. Weeks (Payne, 1977, p. 17) calls this the "colonial urban transformation" defined as the situation where bureaucracy and enterprise were imposed upon the pre-colonial area and by its control transformed the process of urbanization. The structural transformation usually began in a modest way with the establishment of trading ports and agency houses.<sup>4</sup> The capitalist enterprises penetrated into the previously inhabited region having, a so called 'archaic economic structure'.<sup>5</sup> The enterprises demonstrated a lack of interaction with the indigenous system, as the profits of the enterprise did not become integrated into the local economy, but were exclusively enjoyed by the British. Colonialism gradually necessitated the stabilization of a situation of complete dependence and where it did occur it was perhaps the formal recognition of the new relationship between the metropolitan center and its dependencies. Consequently, this dependency implied an additional existence of administrative, legislative, military and social control. These factor were exaggerated by the intellectual chauvinism which prevailed among the elite to demonstrate control and power of the masses.

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4. Although, in the case of the Spanish intervention in South and Central America, force was employed from the outset.

5. Yet another western definition; on a judgment dependent on the western criteria of socio-economic success being dependent on power in the international financial market.

## The Legacy.... a rumination of historical sense

*"There is a degree of rumination of historical sense  
that injures and finally destroys the living  
thing be it a man or a people or culture;  
to fix this degree and the limits to the  
memory of the past  
if its not to become the grave digger of the  
present.*

*We must see clearly-.... how great is the  
'plastic' power of man, a community or a  
culture. I mean the power of specifically  
growing out of ones self, of making the past  
and the strange one body with the near and  
the present of healing words replacing what  
is lost, repairing the broken molds".*

*-Fredrich Nietzsche 1874*

*(Kraft, 1957)*

The rumination of the historical sense; the over emphasis of history as preservation of memories of a glorious time gone by is one of the factors presently eroding the spatial built fabric of developing countries. The over emphasis on the literal translation of historical precedence has led the built form to become caricatures of the colonial past. These caricatures demonstrate administrative and political power and control implemented in accordance with colonial standards and style of building used in separating the elite from the common man. Synonymous with this gesture of imitation is the physical manifestation of the the (post colonial local) nouveau riche, envious of western culture.

In reconsidering man's relation to historical knowledge, there is an intense awareness that an over emphasis on history is bound to paralyze the

spirit of action within time in a specific place, weakening the existing civilization. It is an antidote against historicists intellectualism, what Nietzsche (Kraft; 1957 p.13) calls "the historical illness; a merely decorative culture."

The glorification of action for its own sake is commonly seen within the so called 'intellectual elite' of today's society. There is a tendency of treating the historical memories — players, actors and theories — as instruments for mobilizing action towards a baseless reconstruction of history. Critics have argued for a better balance between contemplation and action, with a devotion to socio-cultural values of the place.

Nietzsche (Kraft, 1957, p.6) reaffirms the historical devotion, but in the sense where "we would serve history only so far as it serves life but, to value its study beyond a certain point mutilates and degrades life." In order to reflect history in a critical way we should have the ability to break away from the past yet also be able to apply it to the present progressive frame of values and references. An act difficult to achieve, due to the fact that these frames are perpetually altering along with our interpretation of time and place. This results in the misinterpretations, and the inability to judge occidental theories that are blindly imported to the East. It is an attempt to gain a past from which we might spring, as against that from which we do spring. A past that is not romanticized which is relevant to the present and can be appropriately used in building a potential future.



*Frame 2.1 Karachi the city made of exceptions, incongruities and contradictions.*

#### **desirable image....**

Kevin Lynch(1972, p.11) advocates a gyration of centrifugal characteristics to the relationship between the built environment and social change. The characteristics are not linear but based on the impacts from all realms of life be they social, political, religious or economical; aspiring towards an 'image.' How effectively can we use the term 'image' which is the phenomenon of being and not the metaphysical existence; which is then enveloped by a broader sense of the 'desirable image' expressed by Lynch(1972, p.11) as "one that celebrates and enlarges the present while making connections with the past and the future."

In the past, the fever and obligation to provide

institutional and governmental stability through callous development has preceded the need for capturing cultural memories of the traditional environment towards building a secure sense of the future. Here a large effort in cultivating a city without any bondage to the ethnic roots confirms the continued neo - colonial domination. Due to Karachi's history as a strong administrative capital during the British rule resulted in a majority of foreign resident. Consequently, there was a mass exodus of the Europeans to their motherland and the Hindus to India during the partition of 1947. Thus, leaving behind the beginnings of a city such as Karachi, made of exceptions, incongruities and contradictions. (frame 2.1)

**critical history...**

Speculations by King (1976, p. 65) and Goodenough (1970) demonstrate the instability in the urban centers. Particularly reference is made to the Indian sub-continent which is still wobbling under the effects of the colonial era. The instability is demonstrated with the inappropriate use of uncritical history as a precedent for the literal translation of these occidental based methods used for urban development and housing. Consideration should be given to history which is constantly shifting its horizon with respect to time and place. Therefore, in order to benefit from history, it is up to us to grasp it for our place at our moment in the present time. Essentially, these shifts demonstrate certain changes in values which should provide sufficient energy for the genesis of an image desirable and common to the local inhabitant. Therefore, we must enhance the process of darning the urban fabric with consideration to the preservation of the culture of the present. Lynch calls our attention to the fact that in order to "preserve effectively we must know for what the past is being retained and for whom". (Lynch, 1972, p. 39)

Pakistan, is a fine example of a place developed and governed by the western subjugation of culture through economics, urban space and misinterpreted historical direction. This submission has led to the lack of any sound theoretical base for the evolution and development of an urban spatial order. Therefore Pakistani's frequently, look at occidental cities with nostalgia and affection for their societal culture, social norms, institutions,

theories, and built form and standard.

**the myth of a western industrialized city....**

Originally, established during the period of colonial rule and with the ascendancy of foreign trading networks, the city of Karachi served the interest of the metropolitan economies in Europe and in return became relatively prosperous. As such, they provided a natural attraction for what was later to emerge as the 'domestic middle classes'. (Payne. 1977, p. 28) For the working class, the cities were islands of prosperity in a sea of rural poverty and 'backwardness'.<sup>6</sup>

However, a myth has been generated about the western industrialized city as a specific form of urbanism. The myth assumes these cities to be the outcome of a self-contained or primarily regional process of growth, which absorbs the surplus rural labor and puts it to more productive activities.

Compared to the conventional image of the first world city; the typical 'Third World City' is at the opposite end of the spectrum. It is due to its location within regions of greater agricultural surplus labor than was the case with their 19th century western counterparts; these 'cities' have failed to develop an adequate industrial base to absorb even a modest proportion of the multitude of migrants from the rural areas. Except in the case of Karachi as a port city has a different role from the inland cities that

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6. Yet another definition of underdeveloped based on a judgement dependent on the misnomer as having a lack of sophisticated institutions, Low GNP, weak economic bargaining power in the international market of socio-economics

are along the trade routes. Instead, they have created a marginal surplus, as a result of limited capital intensive industrial activity (which is frequently foreign owned). This has however, resulted in the abundance of informal sector industry mushrooming within spontaneous settlements.

Clearly then, we are dealing with two different types of urbanism, neither of which necessarily constitutes a complete typology of urban form. Under conditions of limited financial resources and unprecedented population increase, there is beyond doubt an inability of conventional concepts and policies to control or even regulate the form of urban development. In such situations, it is vital that theories and ideologies are appropriate to the context in which they operate. These insights into historical precedences are particularly relevant for the analysis of housing and spatial "place making" since a house is dependent on the urban as much as an individual need, needs based on the culture, society and the history of a place. In a number of writings, Pahl (Payne, 1977, p. 15) and others have noted the need for distinct theoretical frameworks in order to procure an understanding for the variety of spatial order, which is a product of diversification in the social and economic structure. It seems that the illiteracy in the socio-spatial urban language of developing countries is a resultant of variegated concepts applied on an ad hoc bases justified by the fever of rampant development in the western world.

Industrialization, which is one of the indirect consequence of colonialism, demonstrated the

change of spatial configuration in the urban centers. It further developed the notion of land use with specific area for factory and work separated from the home. According to King (1976, p.202) "...it arises from a value system which generates a scientific revolution which leads to industrialization...". This industrialization involves an agglomeration of social issues, economics, technology, institutional and organizational processes taking place within an inter-dependent system of political and economic relationships, producing a unique pattern of urbanization with an equally unique pattern of development. (frame )

#### **values, criteria and institutions....**

The notion of change is a vital consideration for the development and creation of ideas and theories in the realistic world of building a dwelling place. The probability of change in values and institutions is closely related to the degree of social interaction, in turn affected by the physical and spatial structure of the city and its means of communication. It can be assumed that spatial configuration of the inhabitant effect the degree of interaction and through this the maintenance or avoidance of social relationships is established. This spatial separation is seen as the duality present within a colonial city, what King (1976, p.73) calls: "two or more cities" or "composite cities". (Payne. 1977, p.18) The traditionally oriented or the indigenous settlements corroborates the pre-industrial city while, on the other hand, the new or western city model is established as a result of a colonizing power applied to the local settlement. If value assumptions are to

become the subject of analysis pertaining to change; then, the study of cultural factors in the utilization of space and the modification of the built environment is the key towards the realization of a place.

Spatial usage does not arise primarily from a physical planning aspect of research. It is rather that physical form and spatial usage are both "identifiable as measurable indices of inherent cultural characteristics" (Hazelhurst, 1970 p.189) as well as power relationships. Here, one has to understand that culture includes the environment, works and the things men make.... "material culture" or 'artifacts'. An observation by Goodenough (1971, p.7) clarifies the term "culture" as: "where the material object and the environment men create are not in and of themselves things men learn..... what they learn are the necessary precepts, concepts, recipes and skills." Here the term 'culture' has the recipe to life, of what is learnt and the material manifestation of what is accepted as a cultural artifact. It demonstrates skills we need to know in order to interpret the implicit.

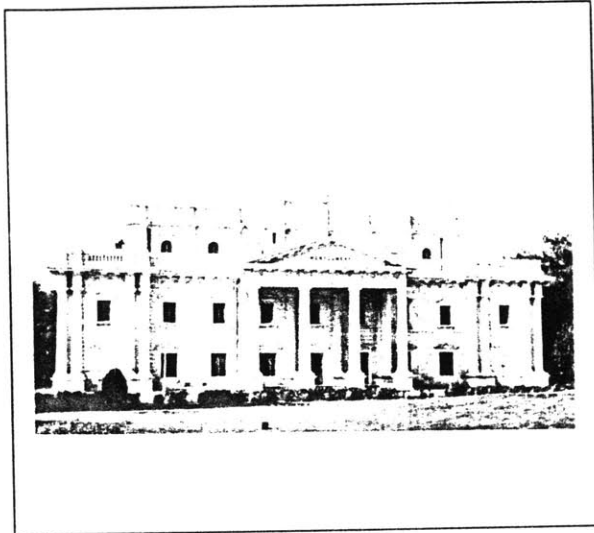
The "modern man" seems to be pregnant with universes of knowledge in the field of technology, science and progress; these universes collide in his body, where usually nothing internal corresponds to the external world. In a sense it is this "modern culture" which is not a real culture but a kind of knowledge about culture and a complex of various thoughts and feelings. This 'modern culture' results in blind imitations or uncritical adoption of occidental theories where the continuity of kin

lacks a corresponding continuity of place. The examples of such adoption is seen in Chapter Three where the concepts of 'place making' is derived through a methodological empirical approach in the implementation of housing in poorer countries but conceptualized in the progressive and organized framework of the developed world.

There is validity in notions of conforming to the British standards in order to improve the level of provisions, but to adapt alien standards for the sole purpose of control leads to a change in the cultural and spatial order of our environment. This need for standards that are not developed with reference to the inherent specifics of place in a given city is a legacy of control during the British era, and demonstrates the de-facto insecurity and instability in organizing and structuring our inner urban cities in developing countries. Not forgetting the confutation towards our indigenous culture and tradition which predicates an interactive socio-spatial environment.

The dichotomy can be seen within a Post-Colonial city of Lahore, (Frame 2.2. ) where the present institutions have been incapable of breaking away from standards that are inapplicable to their social political or human environment. This dependence on regulation of the colonial era could be justified due to the existence of a pluralistic society, all of whom are trying to preserve their culture from alienation and infiltration. Here the colonial city kept cultural pluralism under containment, since one minority culture held a monopoly of political power; this was the essential precondition for the





*Frame 2.2 Post Colonial City maintaining the legacy.*

maintenance of their society.

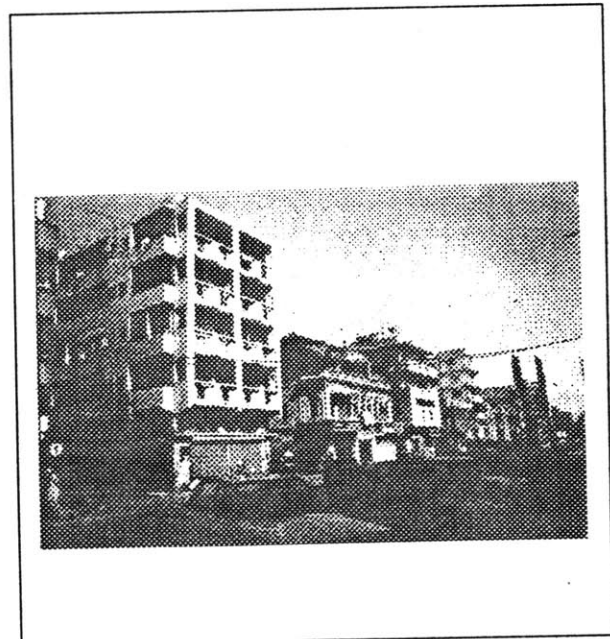
#### **socio-spatial body....**

The city is not merely a compilation of temporal layers, i.e. the number of streets, the arcades and the type of tiles that cover the roof. It is a relationships between the measurements of space within a social body and the events of its past; not as a barometer but a tool to avail oneself of the development of a "sense of place". This sense can only be achieved by denying the history of inappropriate physical, spatial, and occidental environments to guide and dominate our urban fabric. And develop a feeling for the place with a view towards an innovative and appropriate habitable place familiar to the culture and local inhabitant. Consequently, to provide an access to the values implicit in the social body of a place.

In places similar to Lahore and Delhi the evidence of 'time embodied in the physical world' is destroyed by a distinct separation between the

Mughal or indigenous built environment and the colonial impact on the built scape. In Karachi, there seems to be a total discordance in the dialogue between the external forces of economic politics and the internal cultural experiences by the society and its muslim traditions. (frame 3.5) The built environment does not demonstrate a specific socio-spatial organization or take a conventional or specific physical form in the built environment and within the growth of Karachi. Is there a need for the emergence of a desirable image for such a city. Hence, the socio-spatial can emerge from a firm grounding and understanding of the traditional culture, of our society, where by restraining ourselves from being swept off by the development tidal waves of the west.

The retrieval of the British from India resulted in a temporary static state. This state is used to allow

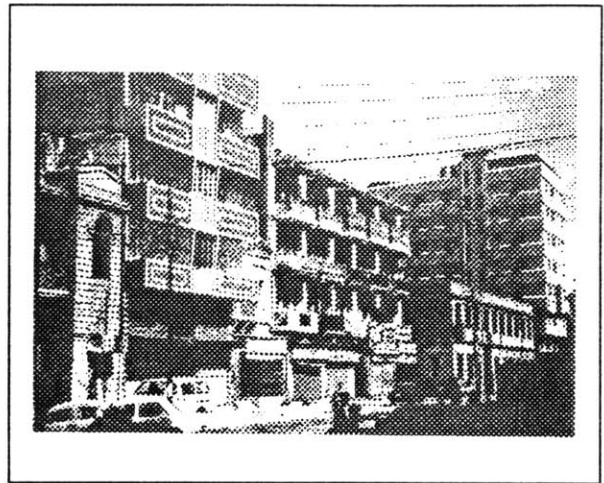


*Frame 3.5 Discordance in the dialogue in the socio-spatial organization*

the people, place and institution time to apparently regain their identity. This change in spatial and political context is similar to situations when a board has been prepared for a game of checkers and in the midst the players in power abandon all precepts and begin playing chess. Although, human beings have this immense capability to adapt to any changes there is still a momentary lapse during which time the brain adjusts to the different rules and role play for the game.

In the case of the built environment these sudden changes in strategy and game often result in the breakdown of the system. For the pieces (in our case the architects planners, social scientist, local agencies etc.) have to identify with their role and their position with respect to the other pieces, (in our case buildings and spaces) especially to the chess board (in this case the physical topography, the underlying fabric of the city with its political and institutional structure).

However, in the case of chess it is the efficiency and consistency of the rule and the role of the pieces that allow for challenging movements on the board. This consistency is derived from a repetition of memory, develop into a 'pattern' realized within a time frame. In Karachi there is little evidence (Frame 2.3) of such 'patterns' of the indigenous culture, depriving us of a consistent understanding of proceeding with 'darning' the urban fabric which is riddled with dualities of standards and dichotomies of values. Even though if one is a neophyte to the game we still need to be equipped with the appropriate tools and have the ability to

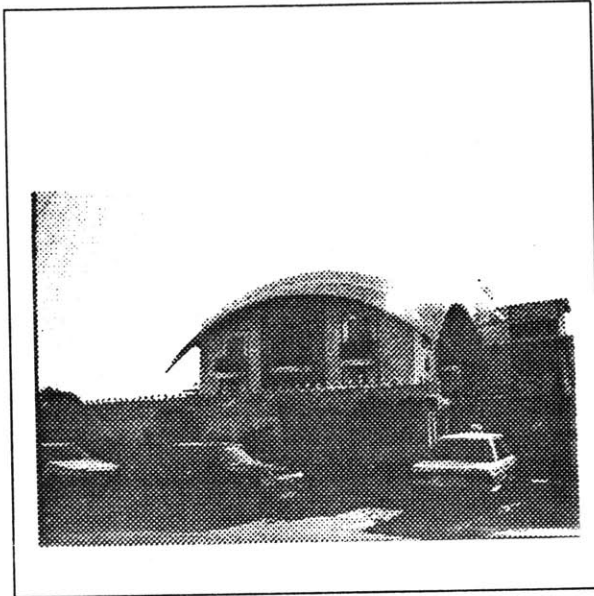


*Frame 2.3 Karachi present limited evidence of an indigenous culture.*

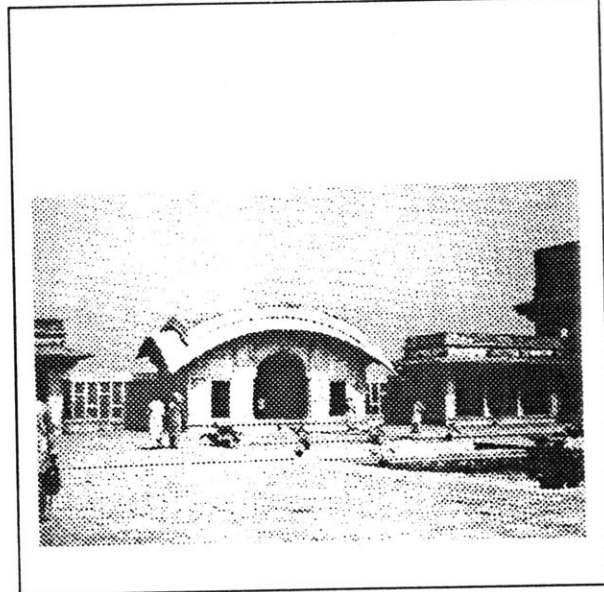
progress and ameliorate any setback, due to the abandonment of the previous players.

#### **darning the fabric.....**

The term to darn means the informal putting in shape; putting in order; patching up. To darn is the informal process of patching up the urban fabric with threads that are spun out of the values and standards formed by the inhabitation of that particular city. It is an attempt towards the eugenics of the spatial fabric of a city and it is of importance to any city which has captured such a variety of layers during its urban development. When attempts have been made to re-order the fabric with a different coarse grained texture, it has resulted in the spatial inelegance within the language of the urban form. Should we then proceed with an acculturation process based on cognizance and perception within an occidental frame work? And if so, can one look at this process as a socio-cultural reconstruction or is it merely the capturing of the glorified past?



Frame 2.4 An attempt to replicate culture and tradition. - the caricature .



Frame 2.5 . The precedent. in the Lahore Fort -Pakistan

#### preservation of precedence....

In this case the capturing of the past should not be the act of preserving relics of the time gone by or a journey taking place only in the past but be based on values and attachments towards the common image of a city. Before going further I would like to clarify my interpretation of the verb "to preserve". It is this the act of maintaining currently active trends within a social order. However, the concept of preservation in post colonial cities grew out of the need to establish national solidarity and pride. This notion had the proclivity to freeze the environment created at that specific time in place and limit the natural potential for the transformation of a space. The layering of time should be allowed to perpetuate and grow while, the value and meaning of detecting the various layers of successive occupation should allow us the freedom towards continuity.

The essence of using historical precedence, should not merely express the act to celebrate a period in time but reflect the undergoing concatenated process of physical change running parallel with human occupation with, a gyrating change within ourselves and of our view of history as time past. Although most of us feel that preservation allows for environments rich in life to be maintained, unfortunately, the environment often becomes a museum piece; a one dimensional consideration, a photograph of the past. (Frame 2.4) However, not only should we allow for changes in the external but provide for a fair amount of interaction between the internal and external forces to occur which would lead to a natural spatial order. The act of preservation as Lynch put it "is not to judge what is good while evaluating the past but to honor its presence with an embodiment of our own time and social order." (Lynch, 1985, p.35)

matter of control....

The dichotomy and duality present within our socio-spatial urban environment, is a consequence of obtaining power and control on a mass within the same society; with common religious cultural and socio-economic traditions. Unlike the reasoning behind Colonialism where, the attempt was to segregate yet control within a given distance without penetrating into the indigenous population. (as seen in the development of cantonments and residencies, as discussed latter in this section) The ideology was governed by an attempt to protect their culture from the infiltration of the local inhabitant. What is disturbing to see is that planners policy makers and architects and public authorities in post-colonial development have selected certain aspects of Colonialism (e.g. standards, social values, economic policies for trade) which were understandable in the case of the British attitude towards an alien culture. However, it is quite inappropriate for an environment to be governed by a similar decision where the poor elite and the common man are of the same culture.

This power of 'control strategies,' taken up by the ruling class in attempting to imitate the British, towards a political strategy for class distinction between the local and the ruling class in this case the British. A dependency mechanism viable and justifiable for preserving the alien (British) culture and distinguishing the separation between the upper class and the local inhabitant. Castells goes on to explain this dependent urbanization as: 'a phenomena having social, cultural and physical-



Frame 2.6. The local bazaar of the host Indian society.

spatial dimensions..'(Castell, 1977, p. 44)

Evidence of cultural difference is seen in the existence of shops different from bazaars. (Frame 2.6.) The linear form of the craft specific bazaar is dependent on the passerby's interest where the goods are looking for the purchaser rather than vice versa. In the case of the British who were unaccustomed to the idea of congested streets and the personal experience of purchasing or mixing with the locals and they would much rather buy their exclusive (British) products and have them delivered at home; a covered shopping complexes developed. It protected the British from the sun and dust and it was designed with a number of shops and a wide variety of merchandise all under one roof.

Another introduction into the indigenous built environment was the overpowering presence of the 'clubs'. Where the title was the 'European Club' or 'Gymkhana Club' the object to be promoted was either the general interest of the European or a set of activities specific to the colonial third

culture. In this case the social institutions of the British took physical manifestation in the form of 'clubs' where the alien society had the opportunity to maintain their social activities within their own enclave. It was a place for social interaction and the reaffirmation of cultural identity for the metropolitan /British society.

We are caught in a dichotomy—, either to develop a spatial order inherited by the colonial times, or to retrieve the traditional configuration of our ethnic past; where the essential concept of preserving the existing social-spatial structure of the built environments differs widely within the levels of amenities and class.

However in countries similar to Pakistan, where the British used the environment as a stabilizer to display their power and to reinstate certain ways of social behavior. It began as a gradual form of urban development towards industrialization but, currently it has been given an extra dimension in the form of a trend or a style. Here, the complex of the 'white's' being superior, dominated the spatial order and it is this popularity towards any thing foreign, which has occasioned the worst abuse of the built environment.

Consequently, the misinterpretation the memories of history used towards future development and the use of science, technology and development as crutches for a healthier urban context; contributed to the rejection of styles and innovations connected to the past, due to the search for an identity under the umbrella of a new country. Thus began the

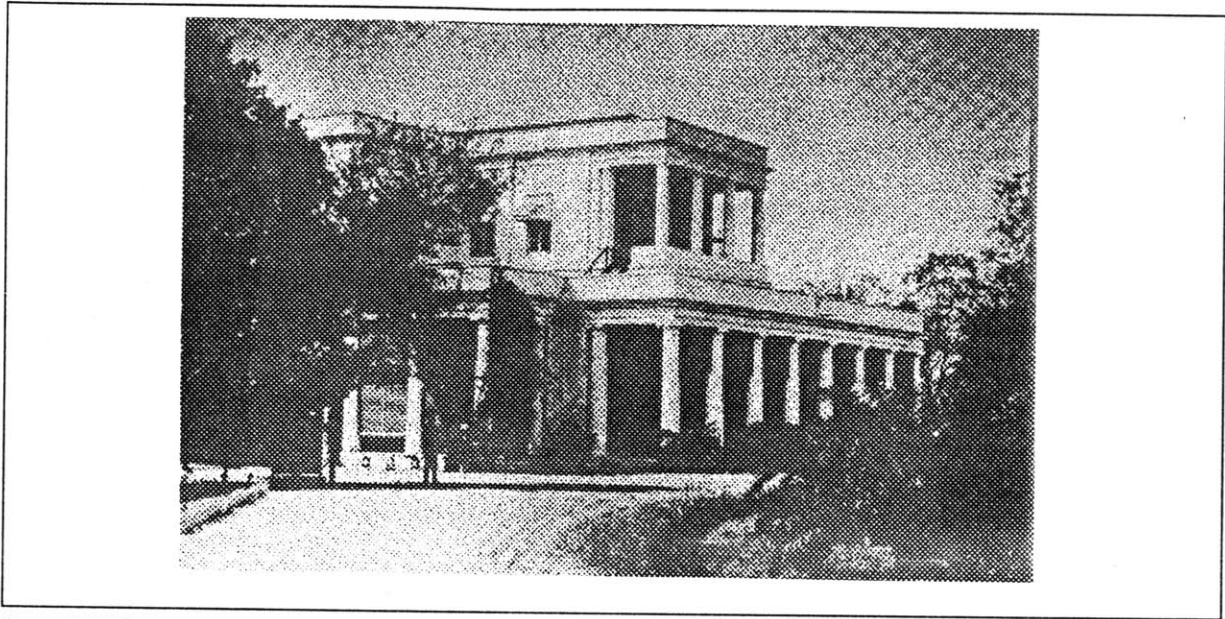
contradiction of the state expressed by the socio-spatial dualities manifested in the built environment. A country that was rejecting her Indian heritage in favor of a new identity, was attracted by the glorious form of power and control demonstrated by the mass and scale of building in the Colonial era. Therefore, this search for identity led to the colonial built environment to dominate and thereby suffocate any attempts towards a continuity with the traditional urban form.

As the European community grew patterns of association and behavior or characteristics of the metropolitan cities were introduced. Examples of social institutions is seen with the construction of, such as the 'Delhi Institute', situated in the center of Chandni Chowk at the heart of the indigenous city. It was symbolic of the new awareness of urban government. The building contained the 'Durbar Hall' the State library room (reserved for European residents), room for recreation and a museum. The institute made few concessions to the host culture, contrasting starkly with surrounding forms. (King 1977, p.107)

The present elite have continued to encourage the existence of class segregation and maintained the racial separation present in the colonial era, which was used as a form of power and control over the mass.

In a larger context of the city, there was the role of the Resident. (Frame 2.7) It was a permanent reminder of the dependent relationship existing between the indigenous ruler and the colonial



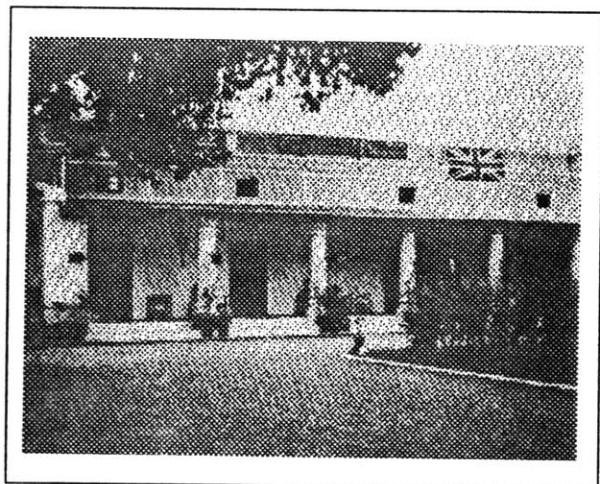


*Frame 2.7 The Residency.*

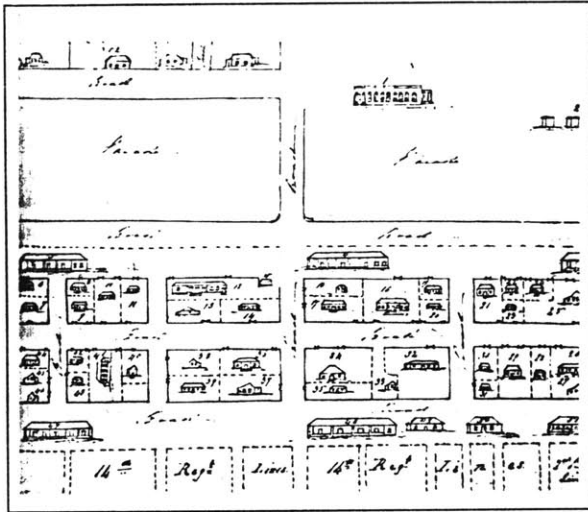
power. The Residency was the physical-spatial embodiment of this role; a complex of buildings and spatial areas, carefully modified according to the distinctive values and aesthetic preferences of the colonial third culture. The third culture owes much of its belief system and most of its value orientation to the metropolitan society (first culture). It is a culture as King (1977, p. 59) defines, which emerges not simply as a result of interaction with the pre-colonial society (second culture) in a neutral diffusion situation, but necessarily, as a result of colonialism. It was a nostalgic reminder of the dependent relationship existing between the indigenous ruler and the colonial power.

In bungalows of the senior elite the verandah steps were used as a spatial device to express occupants status in relation to that of indigenous guest; "If you were greeting a prince of a certain standing

you had to go down to the bottom of the steps outside to meet him. With one of less standing you would greet him on the top steps and one of no standing you would probably greet him while you stay in your study.' (Allen, 1975, p.8; & Schefflen, 1976 in King 1977 p. 141 This is seen in the presence of the boundary wall separating the home from the neighborhood. ( Frame 2.8)



*Frame 2.8 The bungalows with the verandah and steps to express the superiority and class distinction.*



Frame 2.9 The cantonment a system of built form and social organization by the metropolitan society

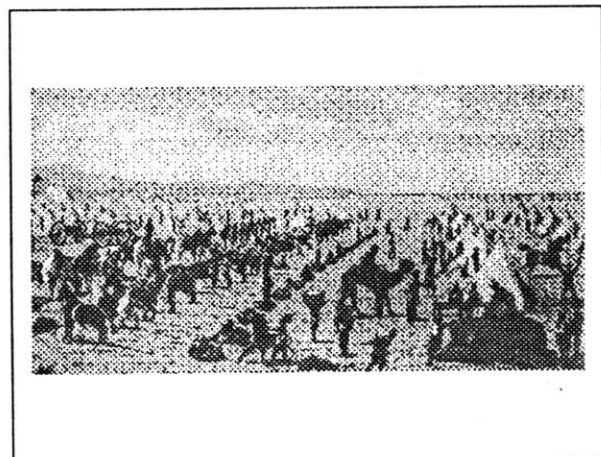
The cantonment was another culturally specific environment. It was the institutionalized form of settlement for military representation of British colonial power in India in the 18th to 20th century. It was a system of built form and social organizations by a particular metropolitan-British culture. It represents a limited area of territory modified by one culture, yet, situated in the larger geographic area of another. "The location of many of these cantonments was largely fortuitously decided by the historical circumstances of the contact between the new cultures where battles were fought or territories taken over, camps were set up." (King, 1977, p. 100)

The ethnic separation is demonstrated by the accommodations which were divided into three basic categories: For indigenous troops; metropolitan troops and metropolitan officers. (there were no indigenous officers) (King 1977, p. 104) The 'native troops' were housed in self constructed temporary huts made from bamboo

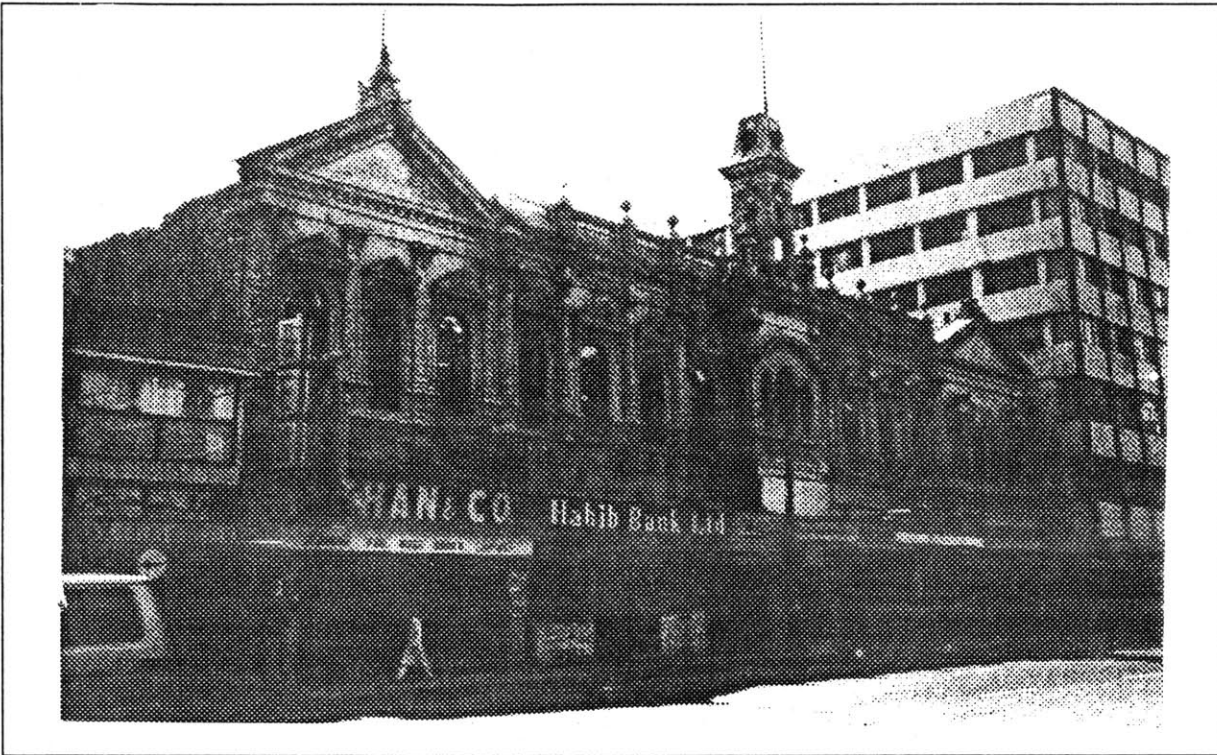
and matting and arranged in rough order, the so called 'native lines'. Some distance away European troops were accommodated either in tents or frequently in brick buildings or wooden barracks. While, each officer was housed in his own detached 'bungalow' centrally situated in a large plot or compound of half an acre or more. (Frame 2.9)

Like other terms in the third culture the 'civil station' originates in a military context. It is a place calculated for the rendezvous and distribution of troops. The alternative term to the 'civil station' was the 'civil lines'. This term originally specified the physical demarcation of ground indicating the relative location of the units of tented accommodation in temporary camps - the first phase of settlement. It also embodies not only the concept of planning but of planning on a linear principle (King 1977, p. 84) (Frame 2.10)

The Railway colonies and the civil lines, express the notion of such distinct separation between the local and the power brokers. Likewise the cantonment and the military residence are without



Frame 2.10 The 'civil lines' nineteenth century.



*Frame 2.11 A giant leap from colonialism to the modern movement.*

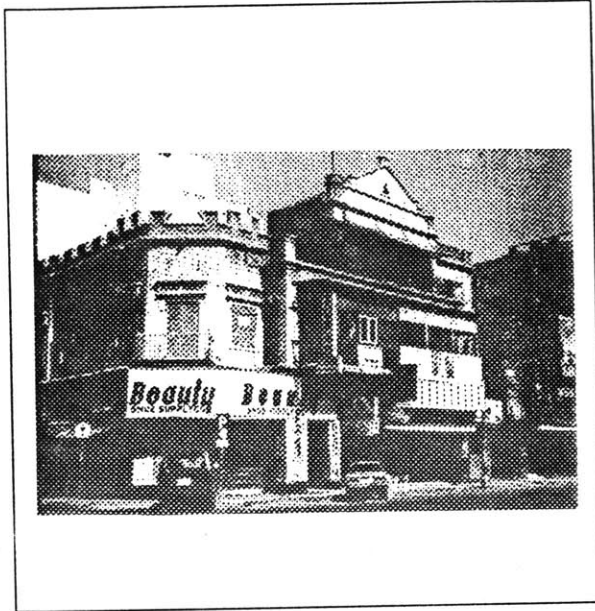
doubt the single most voracious land eater as thousands of acres of land is held vacant for military maneuvers which allow the British to control and manipulate urban development and expansion. The formalized geometric layouts of such cantonments, with small markets areas and no potential for mixed use, seems in itself alien to the indigenous fabric. The fact that the allocation of the areas is based on the income and rank of individuals, with occupational segregation (e.g. are seen in the map of Karachi dating from 1953 where the residential areas of Cantonment, P.E.C.H.S., Defense were designed for specific class and levels of development.) Here the economic and sociological indicators yield antiseptic formulas rather than illuminate the constraints and

opportunity that permeates within the urban context of a Post-Colonial country.

In the specific case of Karachi, the existence and the adaptation of the Modern movement can be seen as a form of escapism from servitude (in the case of Karachi) (Frame 2.11) where it developed into a reactionary movement towards Colonialism with a result of a change in the spatial structure. These forms and configuration of the built environment severed the values and memories which could have enriched and ameliorated the present spatial organization.

At the same time the concept of urban renewal has annihilated substantial areas of existing





*Frame 2.12 The process of transformation - the layering of events and external history of the built environment.*

environments at great social and psychological cost to be replaced with settings that lack any desirable links to the indigenous form. Deliberate efforts, undertaken by the formal sector to strategically place certain forces in an environment which have a domino effect towards the economy of the place without any past attachments to the value of such a place. The loss of such information increases as the rate of development rises, particularly with the increase in technological innovation leading to the alienation in the relationship of nature with social activities.

However, with the omnipresence of the machine and the industrialized age has resulted in the over population of the rural migrants; therefore, we have to acknowledge the fact that one cannot save and improve the city, through increased forms of large scale interventions but a city can transform in

accordance to the spatial order of our time at the grass root level. A city can and is constantly going through a process of transformation at that level as it is more than a contemporary and passing phenomenon. (Frame 2.12) It a product of many unique and traditional cultures having undergone the processes of cultural sedimentation, where the older towns are richer and more complex, with choice services and attachments ( psychological & emotional) better fitted to the plurality of needs and values of the adverse population. Urbanization in this sense can only be understood within the broader spectrum of closely interrelated cultural process with a certain amount of control “..over the range of individual choice to conform to the social path selected..”(Castells, 1977, p.84)

The increase of national and regional government functions in either economic, administrative or political realms has led in most developing countries to the expansion of public sector employment and investment. However, the private sector initiatives contribute to the influential forces of resources in the urban center. Therefore, the phenomenal increase in urban population is not simply of a quantitative order, it has brought with it a qualitative transformation of the cities and their social and spatial structures.

It cannot be reasonably doubted that Third World Cities necessitate an exploration that demonstrates the distinct separation between Eastern and Western forms of Urbanism and the built form.

The inroads carved by rural-urban in-migration

have served to challenge the situation and have drastically and permanently changed the socio-economic spatial structure of the third world cities. This transformation was achieved in no small way by the growth of informal economic structures, which are primarily labor intensive and proved capable of generating modest but real income for substantial proportions of the increased urban population.

In this context, the movement of migrants to these cities represents a rational and resourceful process. Such has been the scale of movement, that the entire social, economic and settlement structure of cities have been transformed and even conventional concepts of place making have been brought into question. Particularly, in the consideration for design processes provided through occidental eyes. Concepts evolved from empirically observed processes in one context have frequently been applied to those areas in which they are partially or totally inappropriate. This consideration is particularly important at the present time, when urban growth is assuming unprecedented proportions and forms.

Therefore, it is vital that we ascertain the rapid growth manifested in the form of spontaneous settlements. They are the 'Ghost' that have built city of Bombay; although these settlements and its dwellers are not recognized by the institutional structure and are not considered in the national census. This does not imply of course that all the 'less developed countries' share the same specific problems or that modes and concepts applicable to

India or Pakistan, would be relevant for another place.

The understanding of the divergence between "industrialism" and "urbanism" and what is occurring today in the Third world cities is critical. The socio-spatial changes and urban pressures, have led to a widespread view. These frames dictate that, contemporary urban growth must be restricted and planned, if development strategies are to be achieved. This is a classical concept to those concerned with urban and master planning but, inadequate and inappropriate at the present day due to the scale and dimensions of its impact. It would eradicate the piecemeal action-reaction development and layering of activities and events to a place, a common phenomena in the existing built environments of the spontaneous settlements. (as observed in chapter 5)

A continued influence of theories based on influence of industrialized western countries, have served the vested interest of a certain portion of the urban population and paralyzed the formulation of appropriate theoretical frameworks linked to the realities of the third world. A theoretical duality has emerged which accepts the traditional link between cities and economic growth, but refuses to recognize the implications it has in a situation of underdevelopment. Housing and settlement planning are a central element in any reassessment since it contributes to restricting or assisting the ability of people, particularly the low income groups, to contribute to and benefit from the development process of "place making".

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In conclusion the experienced colonialism has demonstrated through the adoption of British socio-spatial standards and scientific intellectualism the use of occidental methodologies as effective methods of control. This subjugation of the colonized population to western ideologies is one of the many factors which result in the blind adoption and implementation of occidental theories, even in the post colonial period. These occidental theories of control are valid when introduced by the alien colonial power but are inappropriate and unnecessary, while catering to the elites in power.



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### **reflections on occidental methods**

The next chapter will provide insights to the to the implementation, intentions, and the implications of such occidental methods applied in developing countries. The first frame of references is the control strategies of the S.A.R. ; the second frame is the empirical alternatives for sites and services projects in Sri Lanka; the third is Peter Neinted, E. Meijer and Jan van der Linden's statistical approach to squatter upgrading consequences in the development of Baldia - Karachi; and finally, Geoffrey Payne's empirical approach to socio-spatial activity in the spontaneous settlement of Delhi.



### Chapter III.

## Questioning Occidental Theories and Third World Realities.

### Introduction

This chapter is not an exercise in solving the problem of using occidental theories and methods. It attempts to raise questions on the misinterpretation and the inappropriateness of the tools used in the implementation and exploration of occidental theories and methods applied to the development of housing settlements. The questions raised are not for the singular purpose of refuting a specific frame of reference towards a methodology. Moreover, questions are means which provide an insight to clarify, verify and inform us of the following issues in the application of methods and theories:

- a) The methodology used in the exploration process.
- b) The intentions of the data collection and the method or theory.
- c) The interpretation and application of the method and theory by the various actors.
- d) The tools used in the exploration of the method in the assessment of place.

The issues are concerns specific to the implementation of methods and their implications towards control, the use of historical or scientific intellectualism to justify its application to the socio spatial built form specific to the urban fabric of developing countries. We are advised to pay heed

to the insight in order to provide a flexible relationship between the frame of references, the existing reality, and the probable interventions and their intentions. The point of this analysis is not simply to tolerate, evade, passionately affirm or deny a given frame of theory or method. But to utilize these frames in order to provide an understanding for the act of socio-spatial 'place making'. It will provide a platform for ideas to be explored. To allow for the development of a dialogue between the intentions, interpretations and application of the methods. An attempt to unite the perceptions with insight in memories to the future.

#### The agreed upon criteria and standards...

We attain to dwelling so it seems,  
only by means of building. The  
latter, building has the former,  
dwelling as its goal.

Martin Heidegger.(1977)

However, at the same time for a means end schema, we block our view of the interconnected relation between the two. For building or creating is not merely a means and a way towards dwelling; 'to

build' is in itself already 'to dwell'. It seems that the notion 'to dwelling' is no longer a point of departure in making a potential place, it does not demonstrate the act of living the activity and operation needed. It has become a standard that has been provided and controlled by the socio-political and economic system of a place. These standards that might have at one point in there life been indices, have been used by the elite and have either become a measure of the political and economic forces (as seen in the Navagamgoda project p. ) or have become absolute standards for a universal place. This application of a single set of standards has prevented the dwellers to applying the layers of activities and socio-cultural events which are critical to the enriching act of "place making".

Standards and Criterion are seen as concensus on agreed definitions by a body or committee. A fine example of standards and criterion are seen in the definition agreed upon by the group SCOPE<sup>1</sup>, who met in Paris 1975. Standards were categorized as two types: Official and Cultural." Official standards are those established by legislation, by laws or rules and regulation; while, cultural standards are those derived from traditional practice or found tolerable and acceptable by a larger number of people."

And 'Criteria' was accepted as a guide to standards. It may be related to social values or be recommendations offered by professionals or

scientific bodies that are based on research, and case studies. Although, it is within the world of the latter, where case studies are taken as rules apparently within the discipline of 'science';<sup>2</sup> where a mathematical derivation is applied to reduce the so called 'housing deficit'.

We have to be careful when using terms such as "derived" as it is dependent on the interpretation of the above researcher of the group SCOPE and specific to the method used. Similarly, the term "tolerable" should not be a judgement call, but an understanding of the knowledge of socio-spatial norms familiar to the social body of the people that is made explicit, in this case, through the physical manifestation of the built environment.

This chapter will present four methodological models or 'Frames' to aid in discovering for a healthier and appropriate built environment. These four models will be explored within the issues categorized in the introduction in demonstrating my frames of references towards "place making". The first two models illustrate, specific to methods and implemented towards central control and justified with the utilization of scientific intellectualism where indices are misinterpreted as design standards. The first is the S.A. R Open Building Design a success story within the controlled institutional system of the Netherlands, which is adopted by the Egyptians. The second demonstrates the hidden agendas in the application of 'Housing Options and settlement Opportunities'

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1. *The scientific committee on Problems of Environment.*

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2. Here the term science can be phrased as 'pseudo science' as explained in Chapter one.



applied to the Navagamgoda site and services project in Sri Lanka.

The last two models are inquires based on the dilemma of 'inappropriate and inadequate policies in Third World Cities'; Payne demonstrates an apparently comprehensive empirical approach in exploring the intensity of spatial activities within the socio-spatial structure of a Maulana Azad College colony in Delhi. Nientied and van der Linden explore the economic consequences based on questionable data, for the occupants of an upgrading project such as the case of the 'Baldia' in Karachi, Pakistan.

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## **The First Frame:**

# **S.A.R. the multi-faceted game of control**

## **Introduction**

In the creative professional realm of architectural design games, we are capable of an 'infinite range of movements'. However, most of us move within a fairly narrow range of our possible spectrum. Some of the critical determinants for this range of movement in the built environment are the socio-economic, cultural and political factors. The spaces, places, and the environment we construct and inhabit are the options and possibilities of interpretation of particular methods. The design game of "support and infill" developed by Prof. N. John Habraken provides for an infinite range of interpretations that are yet to be explored.

The analysis of the SAR (Stichting Architecten Research) Open Building Design method is categorized under two areas of exploration. The first reflect the development of the SAR within the context of The Netherlands. The SAR methodology which, apparently provides flexibility, variety and community participation, will be analyzed for its application to high levels of control, its aims in restructuring the market to create a market driven equilibrium between supply and demand. The Second is the application of the SAR methodology to the Egyptian context. This section is further analyzed for the empirical methodology used in

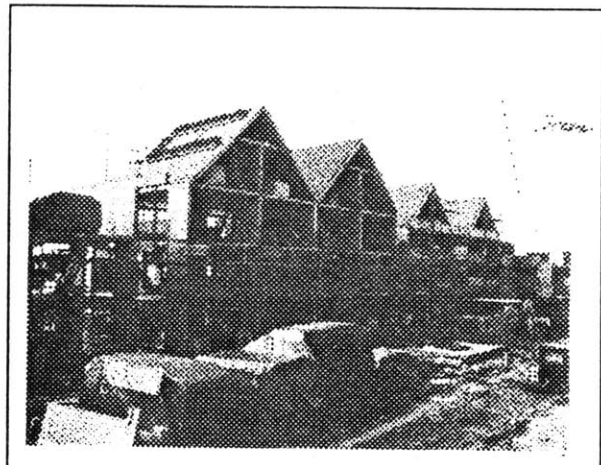
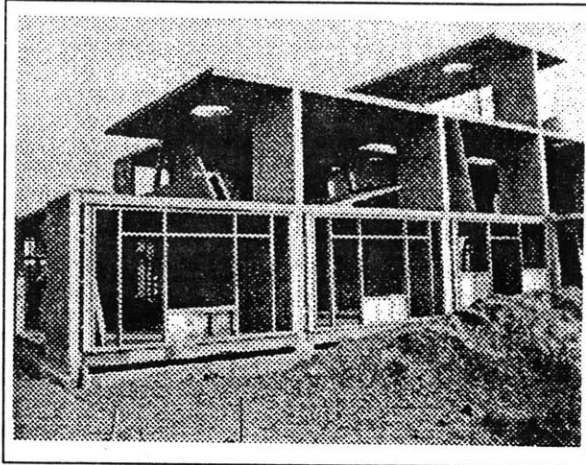
interpreting the SAR and its application to technology.

This first model discovers the assumptions underlying the concepts in defining, the implementation and the reflection on the environment and process after completion of Prof. John Habraken's notion of 'support'. The SAR is explored by me, within methodological construct of providing a healthy built environment, its misinterpretation and the adoption of the method to developing countries. The purpose is not to condemn the SAR Open Building Design method due to its limitations specific to the Netherlands, but to explore the critical reasoning behind the notion of developing the SAR method.

## **SAR methodology its limitations specific to the Netherlands**

**motivations to the underlying assumptions...**

After World War II, there was a pressing need for housing. Cities had been decimated, entire populations were relocated and the baby boom was under way. In all this vigor and visionary zeal to reconstruct Europe in a new image; the politician, planners of mass housing carved a slice into the



*Frame 3.1.0 Once the 'support' of the building is completed, the dwelling should take on its true meaning, dependent on the agreements and different needs and wants of the occupants as a community.*

precepts of modernism, to accomplish their objective. This slice into Modernism provided tools for politicians to meet high production quotas in an efficient way. Efficiency and functionalism guided them through the crisis of the housing deficit. Mass application under centralized control produced ubiquitous uniformity and homogeneity at a large scale. It was in this context that the concept of 'support' was relevant.

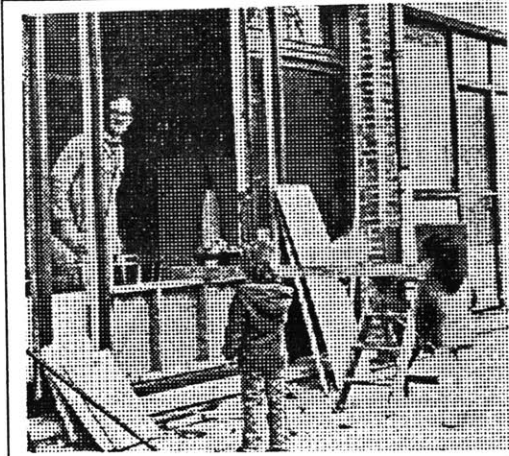
The SAR was an attempt to bring identity to housing. It is claimed to be a reaction to the Mass Housing production process practiced during post war housing programs, through out Europe. The criterion of flexibility and variability were considered for the conceptual and operational phase, in the SAR (Stichting Architecten Research) Open Building Design Method. Habraken's theory distinguishes between the role of the community/public and the individuals in housing. (Frame 3.1.0) However, according to Rabeneck (AD 1973, p. 721) if we confuse them or role them into one, the result is 'perfect barracks'

## Applications and levels of Control

### Dwelling as an act...

If dwelling was an act, then it must be possible to distinguish two spheres of action- the community and the household. (Frame 3.1.1) The SAR method was a design game to accommodate these two spheres in the Netherlands, in order to provide for a 'healthy' and 'vital dwellings environments' (Lukez 1986, Kendal p.4). The concept of "SAR" has its central premise in dividing the design and production of a dwelling into two levels: 'support and 'infill'; for the application to an improved built environment. Moreover, it is inherent in the design, construction, management and the decision making process; to work in association with the economic, bureaucratic, political, and manufacturing sector of the Netherlands at different levels of the building, towards the completion.

A highly rationalised method, SAR is strictly a product of a controlled economy of the social democrats. Or is it the acceptance of the bureaucracy



Frame 3.1.1 ...the right of the occupants to have a say in the arrangements and finishing of the dwellings was the starting point of the design. ...

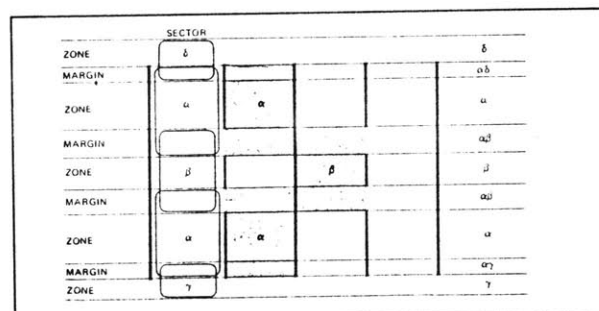
within a methodology in order for it to be implemented, with a larger sweep. As stated by Hamdi, "after all they were built within the established frameworks of public housing, frameworks that at least produced a large quantity of house." (Hatch, 1984, Hamdi, p. 63)

#### determinist control with managed variety or order...

The building nevertheless needed to be economical, efficient and provide a variety in organization of the buildings and the neighborhood. Can one separate these ideas of "organization and provision" from those of professionals who are single mindedly driven towards a design of a place or an environment, not realising the insensitivity in scale and the high level of control demonstrated by their act of designing. The design acts of these 'rationalized behavioral determinists' is predetermined by options, possibility of selection of elements prior to the any links to the people or place.

One of the aims of this design method was to develop a way of generating variations. This is achieved by dividing the support into spaces of similar types providing homogeneity. Zones and margins (frame 3.1.4) are used to define 'possibilities' for the layout of detachable units within a support structure.

As Rabeneck (AD 1973, p. 721) rightly points out, this theory of 'zones and margins' implies a control



Frame 3.1.4 Zones and Margins

which may be self-defeating with respect to the objective of assigning freedom of choice to the occupant. As the dimension of the zones and margins are governed by the manufacturing industry in the Netherlands. Moreover, the

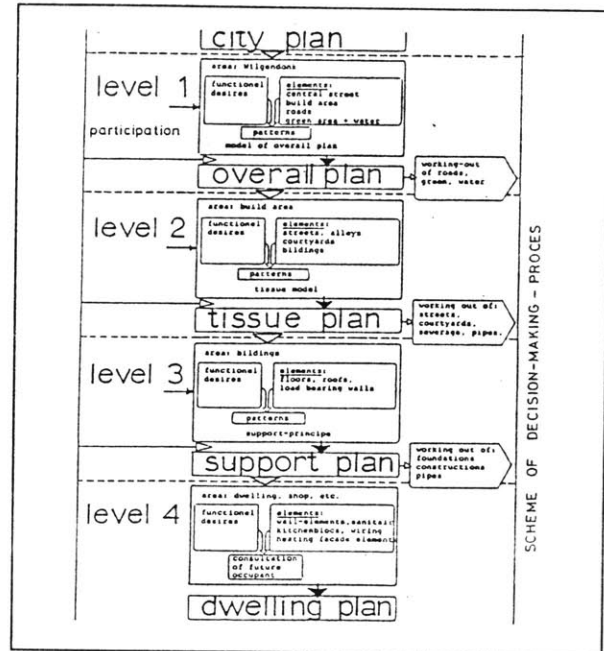
specifically placed zones predicate a determinist behavior, as the use and function of the zones are predetermined by its location on the plan and its orientation on the grid predetermined by the central planners and architects.

A quandary is posed in the definition of the term "possibilities" used within the nature of the architects intentions. Can we define it as 'options' given by the designer, which insinuates a greater level of control by the architect? The key definition would be the number of arrangements, masked as the f'freedom of choice', within a set parameter of flexible options.

**participation, control and decision making...**

There was a need to organise agreements based on elements and territory in order to provide an appropriate balance between individual household control and group control. Much consideration and motivation was given to the building industry and the contractors in order to work with a variety of delegated control. (Lukez 1986, Kendal, p. 4)

The decision making process is divided into four levels in order to clarify the role of the actors and to enable the precise intervention of the household at a given level. Frame 3.1.5 illustrates the notion where the strategy determined in one level forms part of the framework for discussion and resolution in the next. It provides a controlled hierarchy in the intervention and in the act of "making of a place"; if any where the architect, the various authorities and agencies are involved in the design and decision making at the first three levels of the 'Scheme of

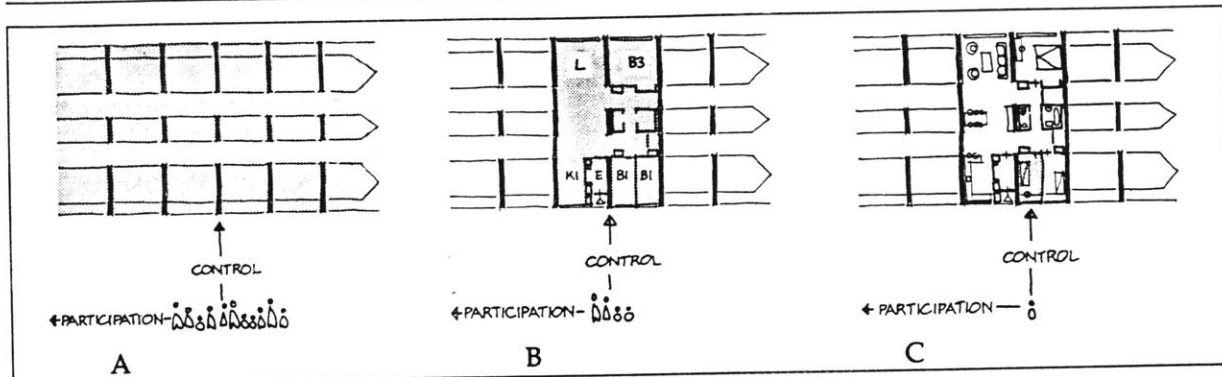


Frame 3.1.5 Open Building Design Method: The 'Scheme of Decision-Making-Process'

Decision Making Process'.

All architects, contractors and engineers are involved in the building process have some control over the support design. (Frame 3.1.6.-A) However there is a distinction between 'participation' and 'control'. Which group decides, who merely participates and who has control. Ideally, a member of the family has control in the laying out of his/her room in the dwelling. (Frame 3.1.6.-C) Once the division of dwellings into rooms is achieved, the family has control on the number of units in a support. (Frame 3.1.6.-B) This operation of support and infill as charged by Turner; proceeds to reinforce the hierarchy of central and local powers.

The tissue level (frame 3.1.5) which organizes the site into built and open spaces is interconnected by



Frame 3.1.6. The Participation and Control distinctions.

network of roads and paths. The density and number of units to be deployed presumes a master plan, a success in the Dutch context, and a controversial notion in the developing countries due to the need for piecemeal intervention in a highly dense area.

#### the uncritical method as a tool....

The 'Scheme of Decision-Making-Process' (frame 3.1.5) emphasizes the incremental development of the project. Do we then see the rationalised central planning mind set? The former analysis reveals the in the specific case of the Dutch, the methodology demonstrates a 'top down' process. Was it ever a 'bottom up' effort in providing homes for the common man with community participation? At Level 1 the functional desires are the architects, the ministry of housing and town planners or the occupants? At what level are the occupants involved in the participatory process if they are not specifically identified at Level 1? The position of community participation is clarified by Hamdi where he states:

*"Support begins with the reassertion of "community" ( rather than the individual "user") as the effective power in decision making.....it is the reflection of the shared values of the community and not the standard prescribed by the public agency."*

*Hamdi, N. (Hatch, 84, p.63)*

Limitations in methods can be posed due to misinterpretation of the distinction between the implementation of tool or the method. It is the tools which demonstrate the concept or methods and not the other way round. that In the case of Keyenburg the tool used is the rent levels that are adjusted according to the number of amenities specified by the architect.

A method for the built environment should facilitate a 'flexible capacity of adaptation and in conforming to different individuals and collective needs and be dependent on the socio-economic characteristics of a place. Flexibility is the capability to adjust to varying tasks without changes in the internal implicit structure of thought or a place. Moreover the provision of flexibility has to be achieved as the initial condition in the implementation of the tool.

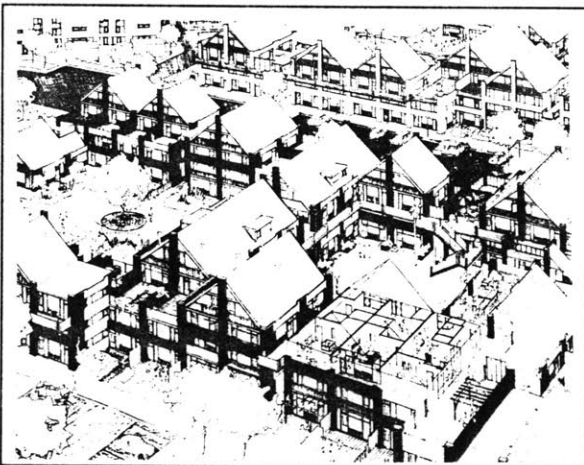


In developing a methodology for 'healthier built environment', the question is not of what we are bringing into the system that would be unique, but, how we can improve and enhance the existing tacit conditions, agreements and arrangements in a society and culture to provide for dwellings and environments common to all. A process involving the people and community in the reality of living and within the act of occupancy. Inherent in the process is the understanding of the underlying assumptions of standards and criteria made by the dwellers towards "place making."

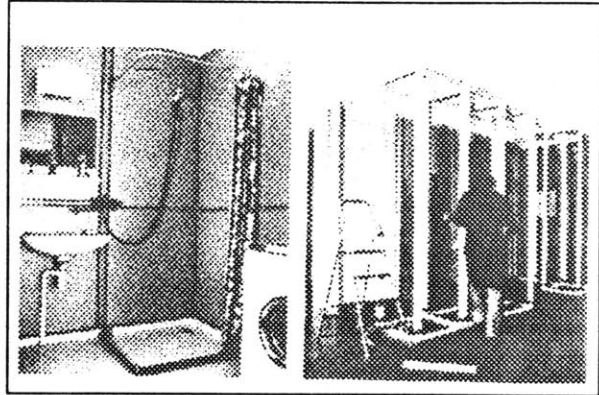
### Its aims in restructuring the market.

having a say in flexibility...

The SAR design methodology encouraged the occupants to have a 'say in the arrangements and 'the finishes in the dwellings. This notion of choice in its own right was quite a blow to the egos of the



*Frame 3.1.7 Is the criterion of enclosure and limited space, to provide for community participation or simply to propagate pluralistic living or central control? - Molenvliet Project Papendrecht, Holland 1969*



*Frame 3.1.2 This implied the design of a support within which every occupant could arrange the assembly kit as he wanted, within the range of possibilities provided by the design.*

architects. There is some flexibility with regards to the volume and arrangement of domestic living spaces. However, not much variability and adaptability could be achieved particularly when the user is locked into specific forms of highly industrialized construction. "They are reduced to the state of the passive user or 'consumer' of subsystems that they can only assemble." (Hatch, 1984, Turner, p. 62) in the case of product options.

A negligible number of options are provided for the arrangement of services, the positioning and coloring of walls and sanitary core. This possibility of rearranging internal space has trivial advantages (Hatch, 1984, Turner, p. 62) for which the essential freedom to choose one's own neighbour and location of the plot is sacrificed.

Moreover, the assembly kit (Frame 3.1.2) was restricted to the possibilities provided by the architect who is either dependent on the building products available in the market or a victim of the competitive market and sales officers. The issue of 'participation' in this case is to allow the user to



apply their technical skills in arranging the assembly kit to his satisfaction. The use of prefabricated components and particular manufacturing companies is justified by the Dutch to establish an equilibrium between supply and demand which is explained in the following section.

#### **market forces...**

The use of large industrialised prefabricated building components is justified by the familiarity of the material, the efficiency of the components appropriate to large scale urban development and specific to the Dutch construction industry.

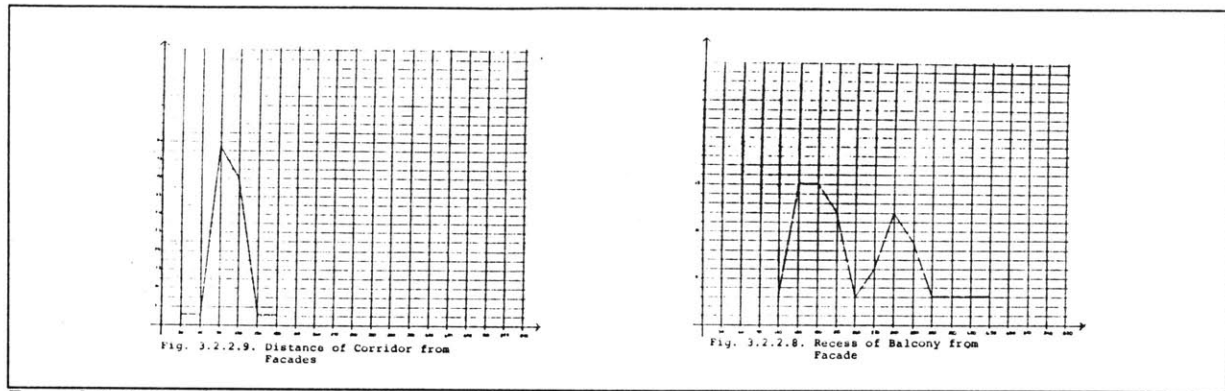
Inherent in the SAR ideology is the aim in restructuring the market; to create a market driven equilibrium between supply and demand. (Luker 1986, p. 20) This equilibrium of supply and demand is seen in the choice of the manufacturing product. The structure, works efficiently within the Dutch context and is difficult to blindly import to the context of developing countries. The success, is not only dependent on the political and bureaucratic structure of the Netherlands, but also on the central planning, the market forces and the community involvement applied in the implementation phase.

In frame 3.1.3 it is the market control incorporated in the choice of the manufacturing elements and components provided by the architect, which have monopolized the market in the Netherlands. Moreover the SAR separates the level of decision making and the level of economic responsibility with a method of instilling economic and social accountability and responsibility in the hands of

the individual in the case of the 'infill' and the household in the case of the entire building.

#### **a system within a system**

The success of the SAR method, is in the top down structure and organizational qualities of the Dutch context made explicit by the hierarchical implementation phases of the projects. It is a system run on procedures and rationalised steps towards the realization of projects within the political and administrative realm of the Netherlands. How do we then apply the SAR design methodology to a rapidly changing built context of Cairo. A city which has grown and is a function of the implicit understanding of rules and norms by the people. On the temporal level, however, it is assumed to be a world of chaos and disorganization. Yet the indigenous people survive through this tacit understanding and have built cities incorporating as essence of flexibility and variability. This demonstration of building towns and environments is dependent on a knowledge common within the hierarchical socio-cultural structure of the middle class in places similar to Helwan in Cairo. The adoption of the SAR to the Egyptian context is explored by the report on the 'Housing Construction Industry in Egypt; submitted by a joint research team in the Technology Adaptation Program at M.I.T. and the Cairo University and the proposal for an "Expandable Minimum Ameriyah Dwelling" EMAD.



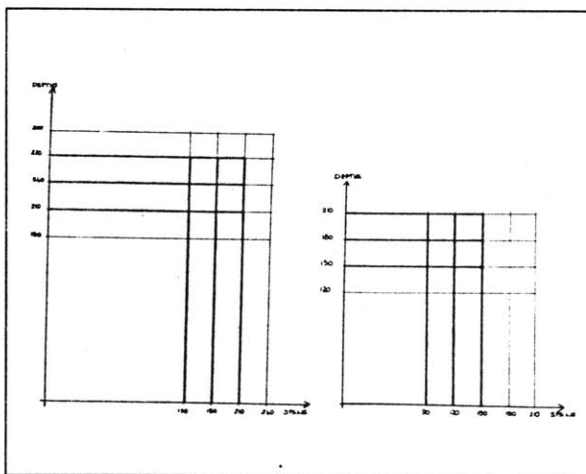
Frame 3.1.12 Graphs representing 'Distance of Corridor from facades. (M.I.T. Working Paper 1979 p. 101 )

### Learning from Helwan...

A joint research team in the Technology Adaptation Program at M.I.T. and the Cairo University prepared a report on the Housing Construction Industry in Egypt. This report introduces the support and infill approach, with the application of the S.A.R. Frame 3.1.15: The report is divided into six sections. It demonstrates an apparently thorough empirical understanding of the Egyptian context, its conventional construction industry, the informal and popular sectors of Egypt, its housing policies and its conventional housing

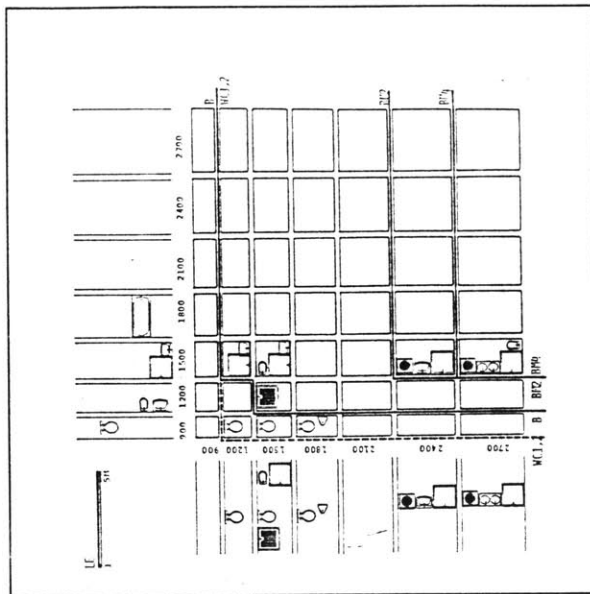
strategies. Consideration has to be given to the fact that the ministry anticipated the operation of eleven industrialized prefabricated housing plants.

The purpose of this frame of references is to analyze the report in order to explore the design game developed under the SAR umbrella and identify the relevant issues, i.e. sociological, economics etc. It may or may not address the realities of the housing dilemma within the context of Egypt. The dilemma is not in the act of building but the access to finance schemes reduce bureaucratic paper work to enable the dwellers to legal acquire a place to live instead of the prevalent act of land invasion and squatting.



Frame 3.1.13: Graph representing 'Various dimensions of Kitchen and Baths. M.I.T. p.101

In Frame 3.1.13 Similarly, the graphic representation of various dimensions of the kitchen and the bath are oblivious to the use and layout options that are linked to those critical dimensions of the kitchen and the bath. Therefore such a representation provides little understanding of the functional utility of the space.



Frame 3.1.15: 'Critical Layouts' based on 'critical dimensions'.

## Empirical methodology used in interpreting the SAR

The graphs in Frame 3.1.12 indicates the distance between corridor or balcony from facades. However, it is incapable of providing us with an understanding of the use of such a balcony or corridor; as in most cases the function of the space determines the size or shape of the space. Therefore care should be taken such deductive reasoning of the 'commonly' used dimensions to be adopted blindly with minimum indication of its use.

*The smallest possible area accommodating particular function is defined as a "critical layout" For example 900 x 1200 accommodates a toilet, and therefore is the "critical toilet layout."*

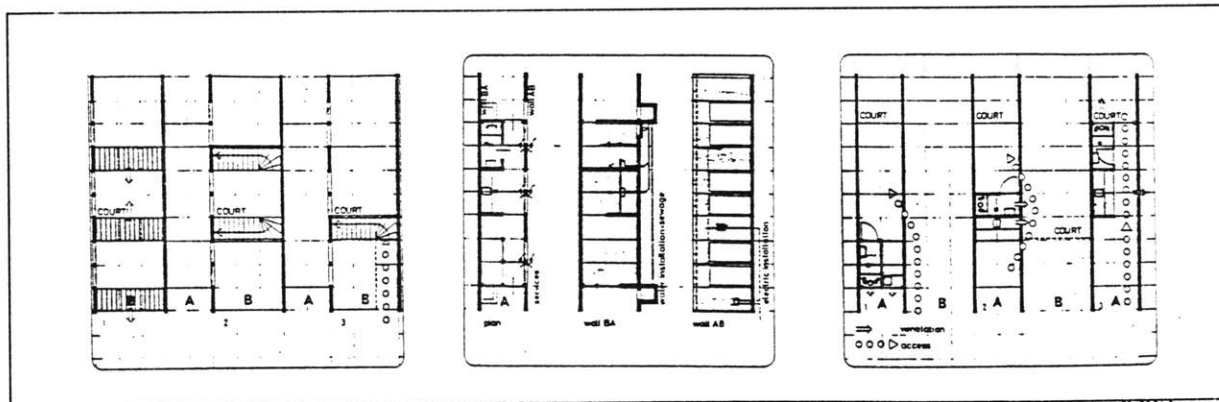
(M.I.T. Housing working Paper 1978, p. 56)

In the above text the term "critical layout" needs to be verified depending on the reference of the specific standards used and I am hoping that in the future these indices are not used as critical rules in designing bathroom layouts.

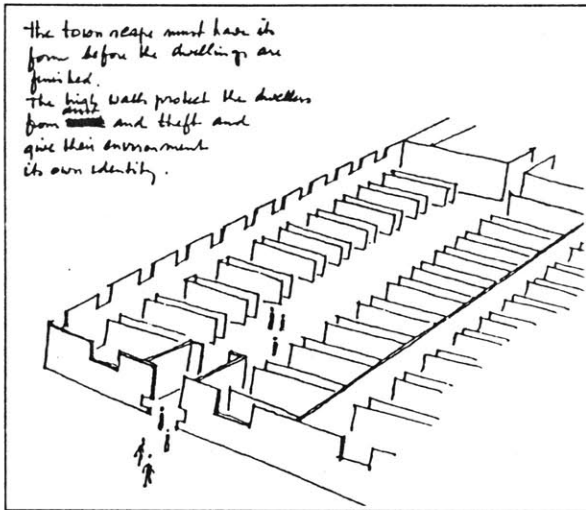
*"The concept of zone and margins has been developed to make general statements about the distribution of space in a support. A 'zone' is an area in a support to which rules are attached concerning the position and dimension of spaces and functions allowed for in the support."*

(M.I.T. Working paper, 1979, p.59)

Similarly in the case of zones and margins rules are applied on the bases of public and private, internal and external position of the spaces. Cairo is notorious for the land invasions and the unauthorized colonies mushrooming all over Egypt. Therefore the analysis should take into account the fact that it is not the housing that is the



Frame 3.1.14: These possible location of internal and external stairs, positioning of sanitary cores are deductive possibilities are interpreted as critical position and standards. (Network, Vol.2 p.11)



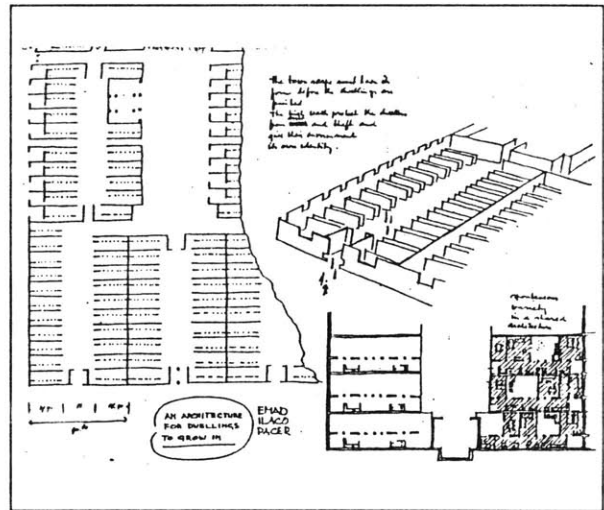
Frame 3.1.9: "The high wall protect the dwellers from dust and theft" ...! .. and give their environment its own identity. (Network , Vol.2 p.12)

central problem but policy implementation. Policy implementation should not be only for price subsidization and material allocation which is benefitted by the public sector, but also for the benefit to the common man.

However the specific external zones can be financed and built by the public sector. These policies for finance and tenure should be determined by Egyptian standards and using indigenous methods of construction.

### Its application to technology.

Frame 3.1.9 depicts a violation of traditional canons which form the built environment. It represents the lack of response to culturally bound forces which reflect society in the built environment. These built environments develop "according to certain themes and patterns which have little or no discussion" ( Network Reader, 1985 Vol. 2 p.12) with the user for the development of an dwelling

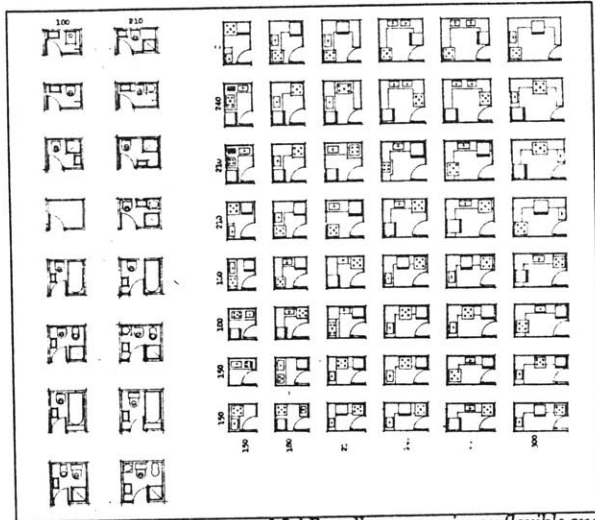


Frame 3.1.10: Are these types developed "according to certain themes and patterns which need little or no discussion" for the development places. (Network , Vol.2 p.6-9)

### appropriate technology...

There is a need to reconsider the use of heavy weight industrialized panels as solution to a place that has evolved through the joint efforts of the developers, the private initiatives of construction workers and occupants. The built environment is developed with adaptation of surplus labour, use of locally available materials, resources and market forces in the informal construction sector. These factors are a major consideration when proposing built environments in developing countries similar to Egypt.

Turner charges that the use of industrially supplied components which are coordinated to match the centrally planned modular design of the support structure, and demonstrate an increased division of labour and the separation of production and use. Moreover, an increased dependency on large organizations and capital intensive techniques, particularly in the Third World context, are bound



Frame 3.1.11: Is support and SAR really an exercise on flexible and possible layouts? (M.I.T. Working Paper 1979 p.102)

to deplete resources which might be least renewable.

The object in proposing a "support" system is not to be able to suggest the location of the support components (bearing walls, columns and slabs) that are within the range of production capabilities of the prefabrication factories. Neither is it an exercise in an infinite number of layout possibilities. (frame 3.1.11) I believe that 'support' can be considered within the realm of policy implementation where the support is not only a physical bearing wall but also incorporates the support of finance tenure, and other resources.

Specifically, directed to the above notion of 'support' is the misinterpreted case in point, of the EMAD proposal.<sup>1</sup> The master plan - (frame 3.1.9) or the solution was a core house, deployed on a uniform urban grid of 36m. In the EMAD proposal it is the use of heavy industrialized components made of unfamiliar materials, difficult to use or

modify or to further reduce user control, which consequently restricts the habitability of such environments in the act of "place making". Frame 3.1.10 Presents this appearance of form derived from the discovery of the implicit.

*"The SAR method adopted in this study allows making a distinction between bearing and non-bearing components (or "support" and "infills")" (M.I.T.*

*Working Paper 1979 p.133)*

In the above case it is the very use of the term "adopted" that limits the flexible use of the methodology. An adoption can imply the blind imitation of a method, the deployments of a specific system over an existing norm. On the other hand, an adaptation is the critical transformation of a method / idea to a particular context or situation. Is the adoption of the SAR 'Support-infill' method representative of the 'social democrats'? And thereby increasing the existing crevice between the central and the local power. In the case of Cairo the majority of the popular housing sector are walking on the edge of acceptance or demolition.

#### in conclusion

If architecture, the 'making of places' is, as we propose, a matter of extending the inner landscape of human beings of their work, their culture, and the economic forces explicitly to the outer world of

1. The SAR method was applied to the Egyptian context for the "Expandable Minimum Ameriyah Dwelling" EMAD. The application was the blind adoption of the SAR method. The proposal was for Low Cost Housing in Ameriyah City. The designer was Johan Buwalda for Ilaco consultants, the Netherlands, in cooperation with PACER, consultants Cairo, Egypt.

physical manifestation. The rationalised method assumes an existing, potential transaction between people, their environment and the operational link to the economic market. It is absurdly easy to build, and appallingly easy to build badly.

Efficiency is confused with the need for utilitarianism. The norms have become rooms maintained at constant temperature without any vertical sense of changeability sometimes of use and growth. These homogeneous environments require little of us, and they give little in return besides the shelter of a cubical cocoon.

The fit and movements of our bodies within and around the built form significantly affect our perception of the place. Changes of texture provide for a signals for special events. Although a whole choreography of movement through the composition of textural changes has been tried by Lucien Kroll in his Lavern university campus; where important spatial cues are produced by the organization of tactile experiences. Where the success of it cannot be judged only by the specific character of the building but within the broader context in the operation of the city and its level of control.

It is clear that design tools and methods have to be developed to help government agencies housing authorities, contractors, architects community groups and households in making the concepts of 'support' linked to the realities of the world it is to be implemented in. The critical demonstration is

in understanding and creating linkages to the reality of cultural bound forces and the indigenous economic network. There is great relevance in developing design tools (seen in Navagamgoda p. ) which would benefit professional but are inadequate if they are not adapted to the structure and tacit understanding of the socio-spatial, economic and political nature the power and pride of a place.

In the final analysis the act of 'place making is dependent on the energy and therefore life of the people. To centrally control and manipulate events, people materials and environment is to extinguish the life of a place. The activity of "place making" should provide for a continued progression of usable and available energy and resources in memories to the future.

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## Second Frame:

# Equitable Options for housing alternatives

## Introduction

The second frame of references is presented by the report of "Housing Options for Sri Lanka- A program of Opportunities for Settlements Design. a publication by the National Housing Developing Agency and M.I.T. A joint program of Research by Nabeel Hamdi and Reinhard Goethert at M.I.T. Cambridge MA 1983. For a further exploration into the Navagamgoda project, reference will be made to two other publications: Case Study on "Support Based Housing" by Fernandez Gamage and Peiris and "Lessons for Sites and Services" by Solomon Benjamin.

The report on 'Housing options for Sri Lanka is analyzed by learning from the Navagamgoda, the misinterpretation of the method. The methodology will be analyzed for its i) Empirical method used in providing options and alternatives, and apparent understanding of the ii) implicit network and its subsequent equitable option.

### The empirical method used in providing options and alternatives.

The report "Housing Options for Sri Lanka- A program of Opportunities for Settlements Design is not considered a finish document but used as a

working frame work to guide further discussion on the site and dwelling development. The key role of the workshop is one of a catalyst and support in order to identify and focuses on issues and acting on resources in considering housing opportunities.

### the frame work

The report is divided into five sections. The first is the redefinition of 'approaches, intentions and strategies'. The second is a review of the context, with key issues and observations; (Frame 3.2.1) here the questions raised provide a frame work for continued discussion among task force members, implementing Agencies and Institutions.

- 
- Performance
  - Management/ Organization
  - Funding / Policies
  - Non-Monetary Resources
  - Land
  - Urbanization
  - Training

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### Frame 3.2.1 Key issues for a dialogue.

The third is an analysis of four urban development projects. The analysis is determined through land indices, utilization density, and network efficiency,





Frame 3.2.2 The 12 acres, site of Navagamgoda, was till recently a marshy land taken over and reclaimed by the National Housing Department prior to 1977. (photo. NHDA/M.I.T.)

this data evaluations are based on methods developed by the Caminos/Goethert 'Urbanization Primer' 1978. The fourth section provides a set of alternatives: an approach for a tool to be used by both agencies and users in evaluating a selected option. The frame work of the Opportunity Matrix is demonstrated by e.g. Dwelling sizes, lot/site subdivision and utilities (developed through land planning indices) and cost options (set against income to measure a variety of affordability)

This frame will allow for the unfolding of the process behind housing development, given the dynamics internal to this community. It is not an evaluation of the final product.

One can critically unfold the implication of the New Support Based Housing paradigm in action. This method is based on three factors

- a) It is dependent on two way communication and interaction
- b) It rejects the traditional role of the bureaucrats as the decision makers .
- c) It also, rejects the classic Social Science Research

Methodology in which scientists 'extract' information from the community and analyze it to satisfy his own intellectual needs.

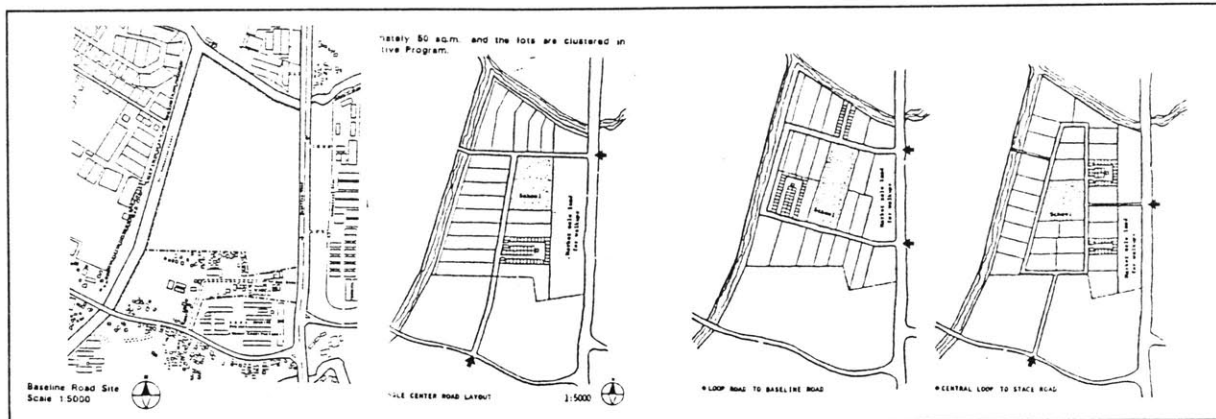
An attempt is made to move away from single packaging for all families, towards a variety of options for each family. The final section is a design study for a Sites and services project along Baseline Road to relocate the squatter from across the road and accommodate other low income households.

#### physical frame

This frame of reference focus on a sites and services project of Navagamgoda a low income urban community of 425 families. The sites of 12 acres, on which Navagamgoda now stands was till recently a marshy land for the cultivation of 'Greens' (keera).<sup>1</sup> However, after land reforms the site was taken over and reclaimed by the National Housing

1. Keera is an essential part of the Sri Lankan diet. Many families lived on the proceeds of Keera Kotu which were usually leased out from the man who controlled the land legally or as a encroacher. Fernando .S, Gamage .W and Peiris.D ; Navagampura adn Aramaya place . Two Urban Case Studies on Support Based Housing. Natioanal Housing Developemnt Authority Colombo, Sri Lanka, June 1987.





Frame 3.2.3 : Baseline design survey- a case study for alternatives for the proposed low income housing project.

Department prior to 1977. (Frame 3.2.2) The site is bounded by Baseline Road on the east and the 19th lane on the south while, the Western and Northern boundaries are designated to the San Sebastian Canal.

The Baseline design survey (Frame 3.2.4) is a case study for alternatives for the proposed low income housing project. Its aim is to provide implementing agencies and users with a set of data and parameters to be used as guidelines to define the further development of housing detailed layout. The division of the Navagamgoda survey is specified in Frame 3.2.4.

- 1) Site Parameters
- 2) Tentative Program
- 3) Approach Used in Design Study
- 4) Preliminary Design Studies

Frame 3.2.4 The Division of Navagamgoda survey

for the cause of housing

In this report it seems that the term 'housing' is

2. Housing as a noun: Mass Housing project a result of the post war crisis to reduce the housing deficit and resurrect cities as products.

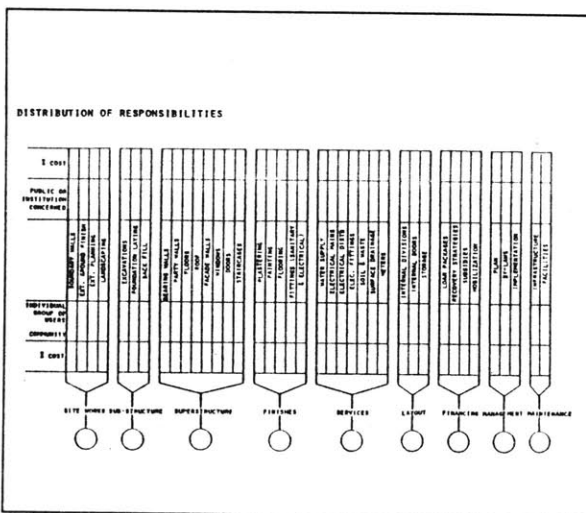
used as a product placed in a slot and identified by the character of the specific compartment in which it is placed. Based on the following survey one can debate on whether the results of the survey predicate a certain predetermined character to the term 'housing'. The concepts derived from the Turners and the Habrakens of the world, the term 'housing' has been transformed from being a noun in the 60's<sup>1</sup> to being a verb in the 70's<sup>2</sup> (Turner 1972).

POPULATION	SCHOOLS				RECREATION		"HOME" COMPS	
	No. (1)	No. (2)	Students	Ratio (3)	No. (4)	Ratio (5)	No. (6)	Ratio (7)
1,000	100	1	200	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
2,000	200	1	400	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
3,000	300	1	600	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
4,000	400	1	800	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
5,000	500	2	1,000	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
6,000	600	2	1,200	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
7,000	700	2	1,400	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
8,000	800	2	1,600	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
9,000	900	2	1,800	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
10,000	1,000	3	2,000	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
11,000	1,100	3	2,200	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
12,000	1,200	3	2,400	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
13,000	1,300	4	2,600	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
14,000	1,400	4	2,800	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
15,000	1,500	4	3,000	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
16,000	1,600	5	3,200	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
17,000	1,700	5	3,400	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
18,000	1,800	5	3,600	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
19,000	1,900	6	3,800	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
20,000	2,000	6	4,000	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
21,000	2,100	7	4,200	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
22,000	2,200	7	4,400	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
23,000	2,300	8	4,600	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
24,000	2,400	8	4,800	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
25,000	2,500	9	5,000	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
26,000	2,600	9	5,200	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
27,000	2,700	10	5,400	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
28,000	2,800	10	5,600	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
29,000	2,900	11	5,800	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1
30,000	3,000	11	6,000	2.0	0.10	0.1	0.1	0.1

Frame 3.2.5 An indices to Community facilities.

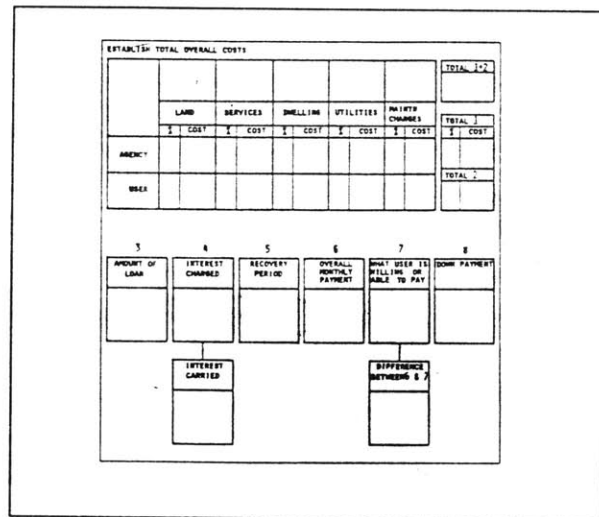
Housing a verb: an act of building an environment and healthy built environment as advocated by John Turner Freedom to build 1972 and John Habraken.

The Opportunity Matrixes and the specific survey executed demonstrates the notion of 'housing as an artifact. A physical manifestation of absolute numbers obtained from the matrix to provide (Frame 3.2.5) e.g. community facilities can be interpreted as critical standards, with minimum account of the activities in a community facility.



Frame 3.2.6. : The labour mode matrix .

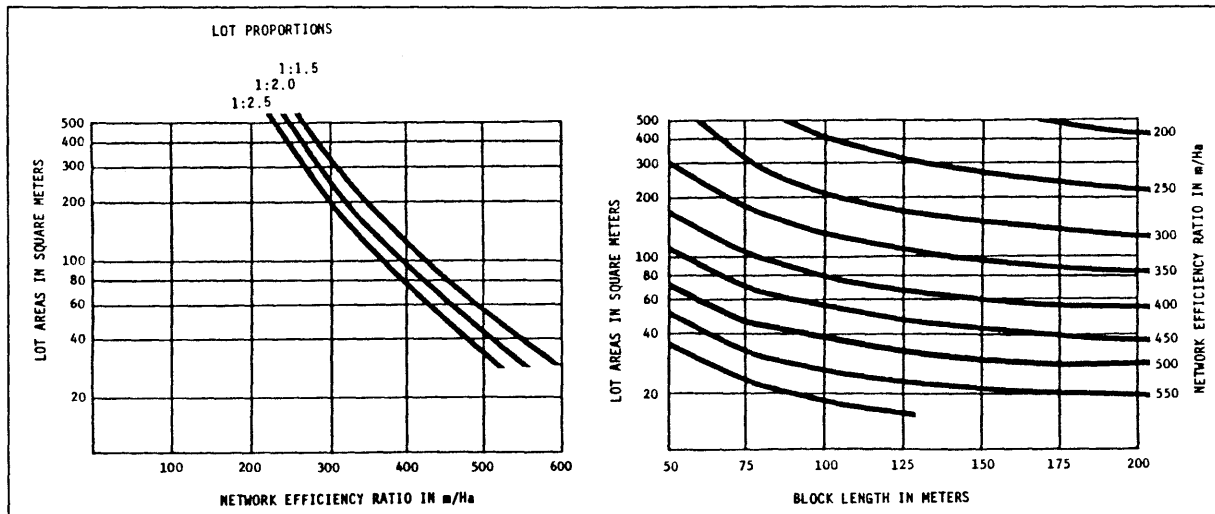
The labour mode matrix can be described as a reduction of an housing environment to a set of quantifiable and comparable data. (Frame 3.2.6) The 'levels of provision' to be determined are once again can be the consequence of agendas and issues upheld by politicians public or private agencies and the reason behind the 'pilot projects. The methodological sequence results in a design driven by quantitative options and alternative to land cost, 'percentage of land distribution', 'relationship of network efficient to lot areas'; block length to lot areas'; (frame 3.2.9 ) land use patterns with minimum consideration to spatial activities and operations in a dwelling environments. (frame 3.2.6)



Frame 3.2.7. : Cost Matrix.

The danger in the availability of matrixes such as the Cost Matrix(frame 3.2.7 ) where the levels of provision can be solely determined by the agencies alone, filled and completed specific to their requirements and agendas -an entire project developed out of their secure offices in the city center, with minimum interaction with the user. (Frame 3.2.8. )

Moreover, the development agencies can on occasion develop project governed by the matrixes used as a measure of 'the investment made by the agencies' and ignore the clause as stated in the matrix to 'adjustments and alternative the user has made'. Consequently, the prescribed numbers in the matrix take precedent over the needs of the users and the quality of the built environment. The above described matrices demonstrate an apparently comprehensive empirical approach in exploring the 'alternatives to housing option' but when these indices are misinterpreted they merely represent physical manifestation of the percentage costs of the boundary walls, bearing wall plastering



Frame 3.2.8.: Graph A: Relationship of Lot proportion to Lot Area. Graph B: Relationship of Block Length to Lot Area.

cost etc. (Frame 3.2.9.) Although efficient utilization of such matrices could be demonstrated by the user input at an early phase of planning and development of housing projects.

## The understanding of the implicit network

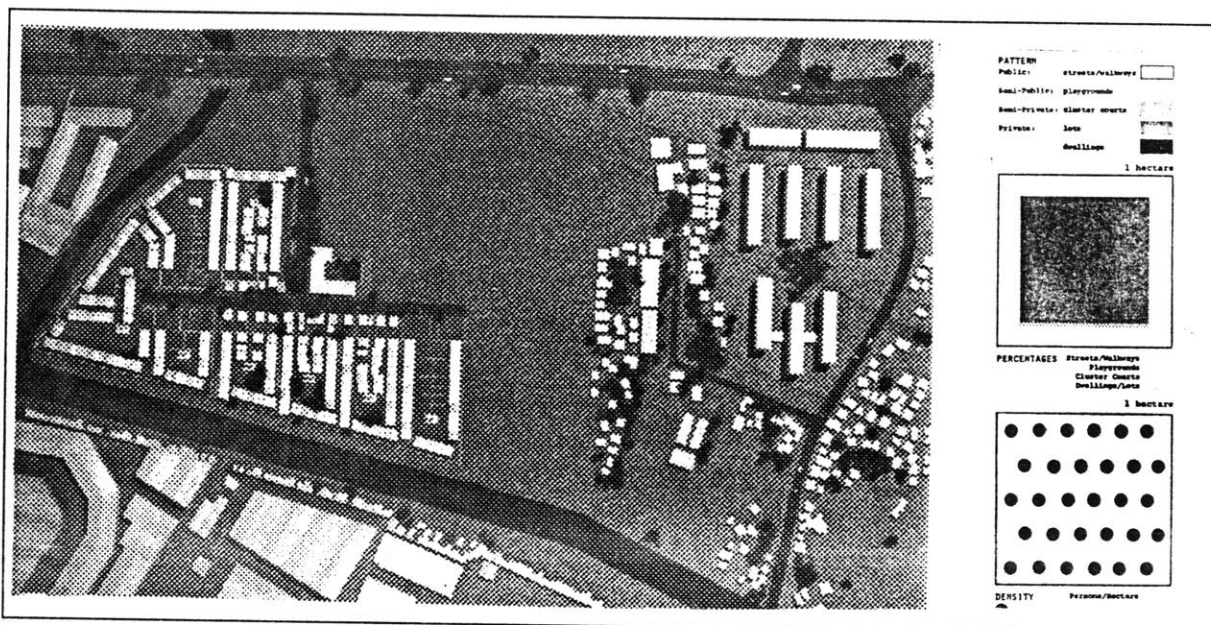
### implicit options and opportunities

"Official programmes unless recognizing and supporting these efforts, will remain ineffective. At best they can reach out to other income groups; at worst, they are costly to the poor and exclude them from benefits they have created largely for themselves."

Benjamin 1985

In the NHDA/MIT joint report Benjamin suggests that the approach to official programs should promote existing processes linked to an attempt to improve general conditions (i.e. security of tenure, access to resources, appropriate zoning policies) could help in spread benefits more equitably.

He illustrates the case of the Navagamgoda project at Baseline Road and demonstrates the lack of response to the complexity of an area related to larger urban processes. He presents the importance of community action and the need to base community organization both in scope and extent upon local structures and initiative rather than extensive formally sponsored decisions. The formally sponsored decision is reflected in the Navagamgoda project, where the allotment of plots is achieved through the lottery process. Consideration in the strategic placement of the households on Baseline road or in the internal courtyards should be dependent on the maximum utilization of the plot by the dwellers. Therefore, Baseline road dwellers are those that have presently or previously developed an informal industry. Although, the later switching around of the plot by the dwellers can be justified on the bases of providing opportunities for negotiation within the community.



Frame 3.2.9.: the Navagamgoda sites and services project (photo. NHDA/MIT joint venture.)

This was the case in the Navagamgoda sites and services project, (Frame 3.2.9) where the households through socio-economic and ethnic network, reshuffled the lottery decision to accommodate their own needs. (Frame 3.2.10.) Those families dependent on the Baseline road for income generation - a life support system for such settlements; but who were allotted isolated internal courtyards in the project were successful in acquiring a plot along the main road. The options and opportunity should consider the implicit traditional ethnic networks and hierarchy present in the informal industry one of the many informal political structures governing such settlements particularly those that are being relocated on to new sites.

## The methods of control

### a matter of equity

"It has become increasingly clear that most interventions, based upon existing criteria, imply that they are "gifts" or "punishments" by centralized agencies. They thus become susceptible to manipulation for short term goals at the expense of equitable distribution of resources."

The prime location of Navagamgoda, by the side of Baseline road predicated the policy of land speculation in order to cover the infrastructure cost. This policy then encourages, allow for a middle class life style. (Frame 3.2.11.) This use of land speculation has provoked the question of who benefits from the development, whether it is the low or the middle income population ?



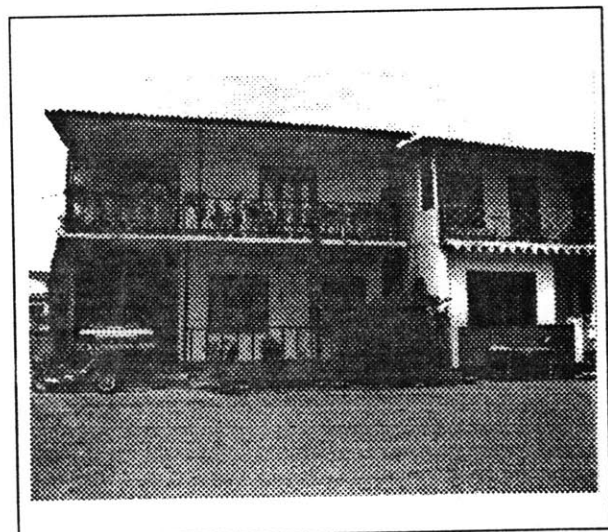
*Frame 3.2.10 : The allotment of plots reshuffled by dwellers to accommodate informal industries. (photo. NHDA/MIT)*

In low income housing projects the concept of land speculation used towards cost recovery is in itself a debatable issue. It can be justified by the authority for the need for financial security. However, from the homeowners point of view most of those projects that have incorporated land speculation, allow the user to have entry into the real estate market. Therefore, on the one hand the policy allows for upward economic mobility for the residents; while, on the other hand it results in the exodus of the low income households who are unable to maintain the high cost of living. Consequently, do low income household benefit from this upward mobility? Or is it a reflection of an 'image' needs to be portrayed for the power elite, who attempt to gain votes in the next election? Or is it representative of the social obligation of the elite?

The Land speculation in the Navagamgoda project, reflects the need for land to be developed for commercial purpose. In this case, the cost is determined by the housing authority and used for development of the the housing project. The

consequential increase in land value provides the home owner with options to either sell at increases rates for better opportunities in the city center; to build and invest on the existing plot for future financial benefits or to sell and return to the act of squatting for future possibilities of the same. Consequently, speculation not only leads to a defacto increase of squatter habitation but it also empowers the low income household with a far superior and powerful tool to become developer on their own right. Therefore the provision of tenure predicates an implicit provision for land speculation achieved by the low income household.

The use of zoning guidelines has a multiple effect to the segregation and immigration of middle income families which result in the exodus of the original settler, to other shanty towns within the parameters of Colombo. The settlement is clearly separated into three different zones corresponding to "residential", "commercial" and "communal". There is no provision of mixed land use. However,



*Frame 3.2.11. Pilots Projects - creation towards an image.*

mix land use with it factor for income generation would have reduced the rift between the low income and the middle income families.

The selection of the block plan in the site is dependent on the calculations of density and percentages of public, semi-public, semi-private and private spaces. (Frame 3.2.9.) It is a set of numbers a simple reduction to a set of data. External spaces play an important part in the life of the occupants as demonstrated by Payne in his case study of Maulana Azad colony. Had there been a differentiation of collective space and public places within the cluster or 'namgoda', the act of 'place making' would contribute to greater alternatives for social interaction and income generation opportunities.

#### **the State response to community needs**

The 'Support Based Housing' programme in Sri Lanka, was a response to the Million House Programme, a corner stone of state Housing Policy developed in 1984 and implemented as pilot projects. Consequently, how intentional are these method driven by the 'creations of an image' specific to the role of a pilot project.

The practitioners predicate a relation of mutual learning and dialogue. How real is the continuous "learning from the people and the professionals" The planning of the site, (frame 3.2.9- dependent on the land development ideologies) the community center and the playground was based on the decision of the NHDA, they also decided on the formation of the CDC's at the cluster level, and on

the federation of the CDC's.

The earlier discussions on an interface and dialogue between user and development agency, it would have been productive had the planning of the CDC's, the common facilities and the plot allotment been the result of a dialogue rather than the expression of an NHDA decision. How different is the process from the conventional planning of new settlements. In fact, the actual intervention was minimal. The actual housing and building process was left to be strongly guided by the initiatives of the community, while higher level decisions were taken by the NHDA.

#### **the social obligation**

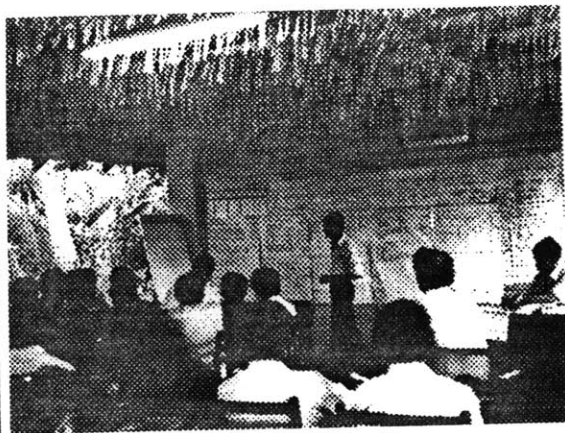
The community center is the central building in the scheme and is the first to be built, it also serves as an office for the NHDA staff. The position of the community center and the use allotted reflects a sense of power and control over the inhabitants by the NHDA. Its central location conveys the character of a pinoptic vision developed by Foucault demonstrating control applied to the design of penitentiary in past and present

Although, the allocation of the building plots was partly a process of a dialogue initiated by NHDA. The suggestion by the user on allocating plots according to house numbers, based on previous location, was accepted but modified. Can we justify the internal reshuffling of the plots a few months after the lottery for the plots. In a decision making process based on dialogue and negotiation, it is important that the credibility of each side

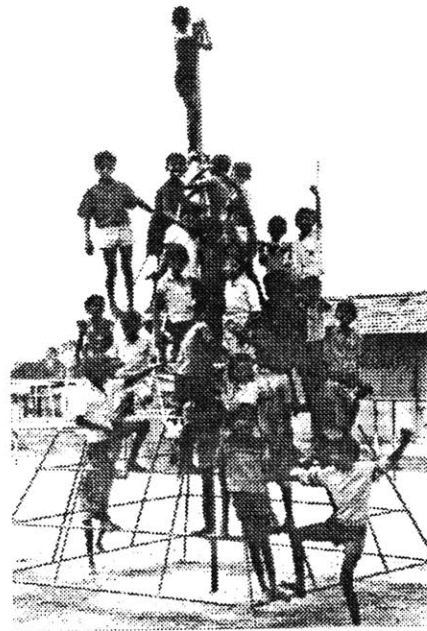


should not be impaired

The integrated approach evolved by the government for the delivery of basic services to the poor is committed to involving the target groups in all stages of the programme — activities right from the inception through implementation to the maintenance of the services are provided. Another excuse in the inadequate replication of such projects, when the actor capable of replicating on a wider scale has either moved onto another project. Moreover, a frequent rotation of the staff involved in the implementation process results in the inadequate and appropriate use of the indices that were provided as references for the 'Support Based Housing'. As in most cases the new employees are unfamiliar with the workshop which provides the NHDA with the necessary tool for housing development. Particularly, when the community level action plan is realised through a second generation of knowledge, where the intentions for micro level social planning might be misconstrued in the realization of the project.



Frame 3.2.12.: Microplanning workshops in Sri Lanka. (photo. NHDA/M.I.T.)



Frame 3.2. 13. : The Children of Navagamgoda - Upward mobility. (photo. Goethert, R)

Reconsideration should be given to the guidelines developed through the workshop and the evaluation of the micro planning workshops, (Frame 3.2.14) demonstrated through a series of exercises. The possibilities of misinterpretations particularly, in exercises to analyse the options, preferences and alternatives provided, here the identification of problems facing the community is prioritised based on a consensus or data collection of the communal need. This consensus or data collection is potentially dangerous when used directly or as a driving force behind the designing of housing projects with minimum consideration given to the realities that make space active places. A place that demonstrates its own particular upward mobility reflected by the energy present

in the younger generation and the rapid development of informal industries in the settlement. (Frame 3.2. 15 and Frame 3.2. 11)

**in conclusion**

Although the workshop approach requires extensive continuous training and orientation of inter- agency teams involved in the study of the design intervention. The solution to this dilemma is in the emergence of guidelines, provided as references or tools to allow for housing development programs in making a habitable place. Are these workshop and resultant guideline (that are squirreled by the authority as intellectual treasures never to be seen) solutions or they the genesis of the problems, when references are used as absolute standards to housing project, where the collection of guidelines are exploited by the elite to justify their own ends. The guidelines are blindly imitated with minor consideration to the system it was initiated in the broader context of the specific urban condition.



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The Third frame:

## Benefits of upgrading- a statistical analysis

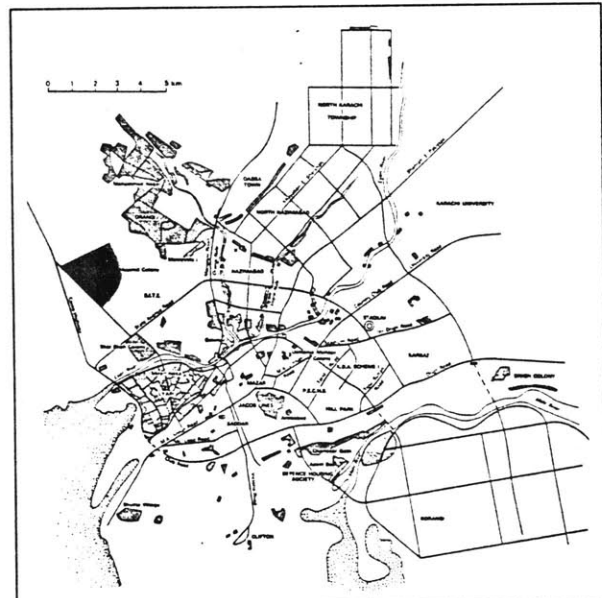
### Introduction

The third frame of references is presented by Peter Nientied, E. Meijer, and J.van der Linden book; published by the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam Geografisch en Planologisch Institute 1982.: Karachi Squatter Settlement Upgrading- Improvement and displacement?

This frame is analyzed for the apparently comprehensive method of inquiry used in understanding the consequence of upgrading. The analysis explores the limitation and posed by an over reliance on a single factor of data collection in analyzing the benefits of upgrading. The exploration is analyzed within the theoretical frame work presented by Nientied and Linden and their reliance on statistical data to defend their position.

### The theoretical framework

The book is divided into six chapters. First is an introduction, to public intervention towards squatter upgrading. The second considers theoretical notions; on housing in general, and on the possible relation between squatter settlement upgrading and mobility patterns. The third chapter is divided into three sections; it provides a practical background to the surveys of Baldia Township. (Frame



Frame 3.3.2 The Bastis of Karachi



Frame 3.3.3 The Baldia Township

**3.3.1. and Frame 3.3.3 )** The first section discuss squatter settlements and the practice of informal housing. The next section gives a short description of Baldia in the development of Karachi. And finally, the third, reviews government policies towards the problem of low income settlements. Chapter four contains the result of the survey in three separate sections (*Frame 3.1.3* ) Chapter five considers: the new comers, the leavers, as the result of the survey based on i) income ii) tenure iii) occupational structures Chapter Six recapitulates the conclusion based on the three surveys which proves a low percentage of mobility after upgradating the Baldia Township. Nientied re-examines the prospect of increased property value with subsequent polarization and hence the displacement of low income groups as a result of regularization and improvement.

- 1) Socio - economic conditions:
  - socio- demographic
  - employment and income
- 2) Housing:
  - house type
  - tenure
  - subdividing and subtenancy
  - facilities
  - improvements
    - costs
    - owners value
    - brokers value
    - property value
- 3) Activities of the Karachi Metropolitan Corporation:
  - improvements
  - regularization

The platform of the Linden/ Nientied analysis is developed for an academic discussion between protagonists of a slum improvement policy; along the lines of John Turner's thinking and the opponents who argue that such a policy of upgrading does not benefit the low income group, "where the guaranting of the tenure to existing and future squatter would effectively integrate those areas at present excluded by their own legality into the process of capitalist valorization of urban land" (Nientied, 1982, p. 18) (Burgess, 1978, p. 1105-1133) The decision to over come its academic nature (Lea 1979, Peattie 1979 1017-22) has lead to empirical arguments which make a broader evaluation of the circumstances under which the project operates and of a number of selected impacts of the upgrading programme. Nientied confines the research to Baldia Township with no attempt to compare the research to another settlements.

A concern for the players who benefit from the game of squatter upgrading, is born out of the debate between Turner's upgrading policies, ar-

Profession	Mean Income (N)	Income/Mode of Payment (N)
1. professionals-technicians	Rs 2,640/- (12)	daily 3,810/- (5) monthly 1,830/- (6)
2. administrators-managers	1,570/- (12)	monthly 1,560/- (10)
3. clerks	890/- (28)	monthly 900/- (26)
4. skilled labour	1,380/- (37)	daily 1,110/- (4) monthly 1,410/- (33)
5. sales workers	840/- (108)	daily 830/- (90) monthly 770/- (16)
6. drivers, postmen and related	830/- (63)	daily 780/- (32) monthly 870/- (31)
7. semi-unskilled labour	760/- (262)	daily 810/- (121) monthly 700/- (124) weekly 740/- (5) fortnightly 950/- (9)
8. servants-guards	590/- (49)	daily 600/- (9) monthly 600/- (38)

**Frame 3.3.3: Table for the socio-economic structure of the upgraded settlement.**

gued by Burgees as "an economic and ideological means necessary to maintain status quo for capitalist development".

### The dependency on empirical and statistical data;

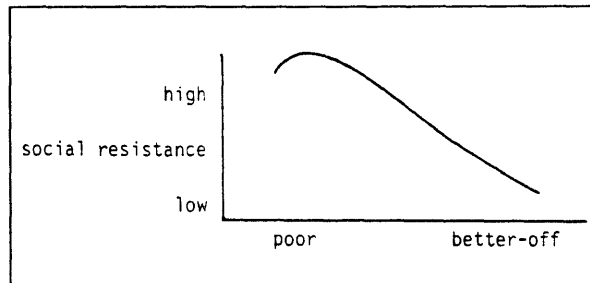
This table of the economic and social structure of the upgraded settlement (Frame 3.3.3) distinguishes four social classes (Bremner 1976, p.1870-5, 1905-8) in the urban labour:

- 1) Labour elite- laborers
- 2) Petit bourgeois - entrepreneurs, shop owners.
- 3) Sub proletariats
- 4) Lumpen proletariats.

Although Nientied has reservations (due to difference in social background within one household) about such classification; he goes on to compare the income and employment relative to mobility and policy upgrading. Consideration should be given to those households who are dependent on income earned by family members in the Middle East, as is the case for a large percentage of the low income families.

Therefore in using Nientied's class category, the Lumpen proletariats who may be garbage collectors and may have a family income equivalent to the petit bourgeois. Moreover, minimum consideration has been given to the other sources of income prevalent in such settlements. It is commonly understood that a large percentage of the household may have more than one job. They may

be laborers in the day and bus, taxi drivers at night. The renting of rooms, spaces, forms of transportation (however primitive) and the rent on water supply can be seen as another form of income generation within the community.



Frame : 3.3.4 Relation between economic position and social resistance

Nientied is conscious of the naivete in merely distinguishing between a tenant and owner as there is a multitude of categories present within those sub-headings. Factors such as rent compensation provided to the resident in exchange for manual or technical assistance to the owners fall under these categories.

The graph (Frame 3.3.4) apparently demonstrates the high resistance of the poor to move out of the settlements once upgrading is completed. Nientied demonstrates that the poorest due to the dependency on social bonds have the highest resistance to leaving the upgraded settlement. However, there is a danger in using empirical data when used for a means end; as the end solution could be interpreted as the sole solution. The x,y, factors in the graph are ambiguous terms; as the 'high' or 'low' resistance of the poor residence can not be evaluated within physical terms. Similarly, the economic position of 'poor' and 'better off' are

relative to the evaluator. In this case there is a need to consider the realities of ethnic affiliation and territories. This power of ethnic social organization and control is a phenomena prevalent in most areas of Indo- Pakistan. In which case the mobility within such settlements is determined not only by the economic and social position but also by the majority of certain ethnic groups.

Can we then assume that the better off with low resistance provide a market for the middle class to have access and thereby create a larger threat for gentrification and displacement of the poorer and the a high degree of polarization. The increased land and property value reduces the accessible of the poor families into the area, as they do not have the funds to enter. If prices are too high, high income groups will replace the leavers. These leavers can be poor as well as better off. He acknowledges that "Vertical and social networks play an important role in the migration pattern of upgrading settlements." but does not define or demonstrate their impact on immigration pattern.

Linden and Nientied, question the criteria for improvement taken from the lowest income, although it may be valid to insure for affordability. However if the standards are taken from an external

*"Living conditions in katchi abadies vary enormously. Over the years some of these settlements have become very decent places with fairly good houses and having a quite reasonable level of facilities, such as water supply, sewerage, garbage collection, storm drainage, electricity etc. In other katchi abadies, practically all these services are absent and sometimes the housing stock consists of mere reed huts, or double storied shacks made of wooden planks and tin sheets." (Nientied 1982, p.57)*

set of criteria, as in the case of British standards adopted and applied to present built environment; (chapter II) The build environment developed would necessitate the displacement of the low income families who would sell out to middle income households.

The practical background for Karachi's katchi abadis<sup>1</sup> presents an incredible array of information regarding, local forces, political and social actors that help in making the place. In this study the internal heterogeneity is described through local definitions and terminology and statistical data (Frame 3.3.5) Full justice is not given to the richness of elaboration and the variety in the house types, as they are summarized under the life expectancy and material use with minimum visual support that provide a comprehensive view of "decent places with fairly good houses" that are being analyzed.

	1981	1979	1977
I + II + III :	2%	4%	5%
IV :	40	43	52
V :	48	43	35
VI :	10	10	8 (rounded figures)

1981 : n=687  
1977-79 : n=720

Frame: 3.3.5 The typology of Houses.

1. katchi abadis where 'katchi' is raw and abadis is settlements in the urdu language. a term commonly used for squatter settlements.

The understanding of the local circumstance is communicated well to the reader through the knowledge of the local terminology and assumptions made within the settlements. There is a precise and comprehensive comparison between the development of the unorganized invasions and illegal subdivision under the factors of: security, location, function, leadership and organization, frequency and level and speed of development. Government housing policies is presented in an organized way, providing the history of mind set in the bureaucratic position, with a chronological view of the policy positions and programmes.

My concern is not only for the use of such data but in the reliability ( which is also questioned by the authors)

*According to the annual report 1980-1981 of the State Bank of Pakistan, the overall consumer prices increased with 10.4% in the period 1979-80, while in the period of 1980-1981 this increase was 13.9%. This indicates for the period between the two surveys an increase of prices of 29% approximately. The increase of the total income of the households was 40%, 11% more than the rise of the price index figure. It is doubtful if the this 29% is a reliable representation of the actual increase of prices. In our survey the mean income of the heads of household rose 25% between 1979 and 1981. The number as well as the income of the additional income earners contributed to the 40% increase of the household. (Nientied 1982, p.54)*

The "Evaluation of Baldia Upgrading Program" is heavily dependent on the official statistics provided

by the Karachi Development Authority. Although, Nientied, poses a quandary in the reliability and use of the statistical data; particularly in the case of the statistics of the consumer price increase; but he continues to apply the data from the Table: Typology of Houses; Table: Types

II + III :	Rs 794/-	n=12
IV :	Rs 988/-	n=273
V :	Rs 1,333/-	n=324
VI :	Rs 1,658/-	n=66
overall :	Rs 1,215/-	n=675, missing: 12

Frame 3.3.6: Table: Types of houses and mean household income 1981

	II + III	IV	V	VI
up to RS 750/-	3.4%	54.4%	37.7%	4.4%
Rs 750/- - 1,500/-	1.3	38.6	50.2	10.0
1,500/- upwards	0.6	26.2	56.9	16.2
$\chi^2=43.1$ , $\chi^2(6, 00.5)=12.6$ n=675				

Frame 3.3.7 Table: Income Classes and house types 1981

of houses and mean household income 1981 and Income Classes and house types 1981 (Frame 3.3.5; Frame 3.3.6; and Frame 3.3.7

It is potentially dangerous to to float information/ data such as:

*"On an average each house is had 1.82 rooms for own use per household. A total of 181 houses also has a visitors' room, which makes the overall mean 2.09 rooms per household." (Nientied 1982, p.59)*

The data of 1.82 rooms has the potential of being interpreted as a absolute numbers used as a standard for the design of low income houses. In the realm of setting standard it is critical to understand that the spaces created in these settlements are one time and specific to the dweller in reaction to the needs of the specific household, its tenure status, economic politics and socio-

cultural links and can not be replicated. Therefore, these statistics should not be used as a sources such as the 'Graphic Standards'.

However we can argue against, the benefit of upgrading directed to the low income residents. The realities behind the legalization and improvement is in the expectation of creating a more permanent housing stock. Therefore these improvements automatically lead to long term leases which encourages the resident to invest in their own houses - increased property value. Consequently, this increase in property value is reflected by the increased rents which make it less and less accessible to the low income residents consequently can not afford owning a property.

However Nientied accepts the limitation of such a conclusion based on: the partial implementation of the KMC project and on the short period of the research during which time the the migration phenomena may not be visible.

The connection between economics, tenure, and social networks is explicitly demonstration in the analysis It is apparently to demonstrate that the settlements can not be reduced to an economic statistic. Nientied supports this by informing the reader of the implicit traditions manifested in the built form. There is a vivid quality in the descriptive portrayal of the socio-economics bind with affections to the people and the place, yet, unromanticized.



Frame 3.3.8: The view of a house access lane.

*"The visitors' rooms is used among muslims in their system of 'pardah' (curtain off/ seperation of women) . A visitors room has a separate entrance so that men can receive guests without the problem of hiding the women. "... (Nientied 1982, p.59)*

In conclusion the deductive method of reasoning is not at fault but it is the dependency on single empirical data which is used in support for the reasoning that is questioned. Therefore it is this methodological process which uses single factor or issue consequently develops into the central factor in demonstrating a point or solving a problem.

Finally, this demonstration of minimum upward mobility as a consequence of upgrading is not only too dependent on a statistical manipulation. Moreover, minimum consideration has been given to the broader issues affecting similar settlement as the Baldia township. Therefore there is a need to consider the fact that the evolution of such settlements are a resultant of broader issues which are linked to the systemic political economic and sociological hierarchical structure of the urban area.

## The Fourth Frame:

# Empirical analysis of 'effective space'.

## Introduction

As Gillespie notes, 'we are undoubtedly consigned to a debt of a new but, none the less final solution. Such a doctrine however, is constantly in danger of becoming a mere conventionalism or subjectivism. While Hegel conscious of his science of logic argues that "if man could only look to himself to discover the standards for his action, he constantly runs the danger of mistaking current prejudices and opinions for the truth of reason; or of simply identifying 'what is' with 'what ought to be'." (Gillespie, 1984 p.2.)

The fourth frame of reference is introduced by Goeffrey K. Payne in his book: Urban Housing for the Third World. Case studies; Rouse Avenue and Maulana Azad Medical College Settlement in Delhi India.<sup>1</sup> Published by Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. 1977.

This frame is analyzed under two categories. The first is the theoretical framework presented by Payne. The second is the application of the method of inquiry used in executing the survey. In this section, the Maulana Azad Medical College settlement, (Frame 3.4..2) a legally entitled spontaneous colony of construction workers; is selected to analyze the method of inquiry applied in exploring a spontaneous settlement. This exploration demonstrates the following concerns i) Paynes dependency on empirical data; ii) mathematical solutions in understanding a place. iii) the reliance on a single factor to explore the settlement. This analysis will then present the intention behind the

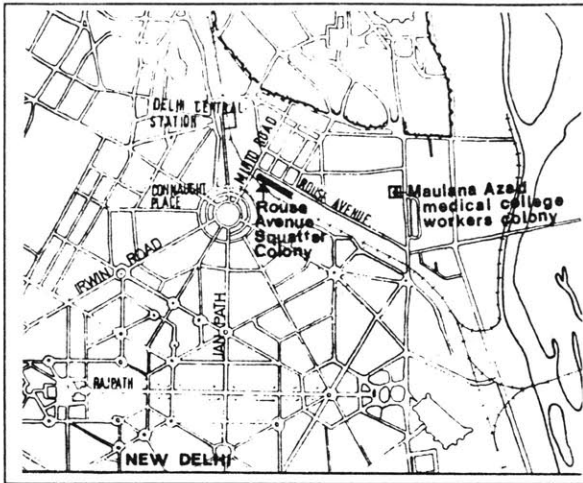
search and an inquiry towards the result or alternatives suggested.

### The theoretical framework

The book is divided into four parts. The first describes the general context of urban growth, the impact of foreign influence over societies and economies as they operate at the urban level. The second examines the various factors which condition the form of urban development within major cities and the influence they have upon housing for the low income groups. Part three is an analysis of two communities, Rouse Avenue and Maulana Azad Medical College settlement in the central areas of Delhi. (Frame 4.4.1.) He explores the people and the context in which they live with a particular interest in the range of processes involved in their

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1. It is important to mention that both these settlements have been demolished (during the state of emergency in 1971) where the people were resettled in the periphery of urban Delhi.

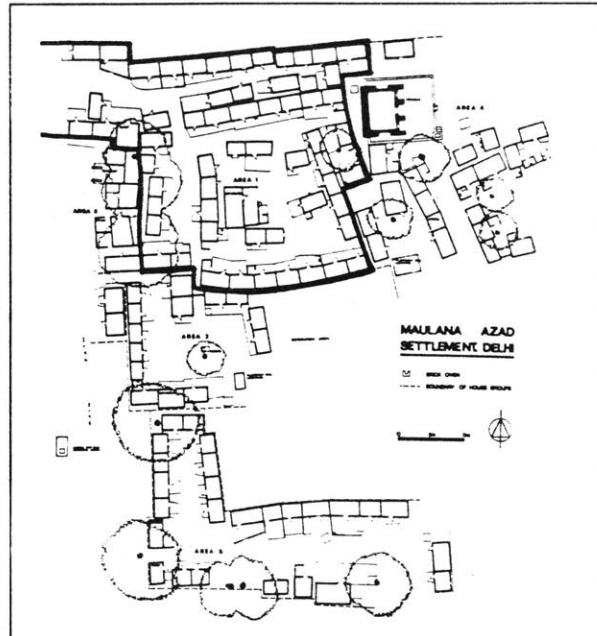


Frame 4.4.1. Location Plan: Maulana Azad Settlement.

development. The final section, synthesizes the material on urban growth and low income housing presented earlier, to assess its significance to future planning and housing policies. The assessment is made however, with an awareness of the danger of 'generalizing from a particular place at one point in time'.

### Payne's dilemma

Within the broader range of Urban development, Payne argues for dilemma of the inadequate use of policies. He questions the inappropriateness of conventional (western) planning used in search for alternatives. In introducing the history of context, Payne charges colonialism as being one of the 'extreme forms of foreign intervention and control'. He outlines the existing gap between the political, socio-economic realm, within spatial built form and policies made as a result of attempts to impose ethnocentric models based upon the urban experiences of the industrial western context, as well as other countries within the 'Third World'.



Frame 3.4.2:: Maulana Azad Settlement - Layout Plan.

The book leads to a formulation of 'policy recommendations' for housing and planning, with alternatives to prevent the development of squatter settlements. Payne concludes with the suggestions on how to implement 'pilot project' programs to test alternative approaches.

Payne begins his study by categorizing the factors which demonstrate the acceptance of such settlements, they are dependent on official interventions categorized in frame 3.4.5

- a) Legal
- b) Administrative
- c) Physical
- d) Economic
- e) Political
- f) Cultural
- g) Social

Frame 3.4.5 : Categories of Official Interventions



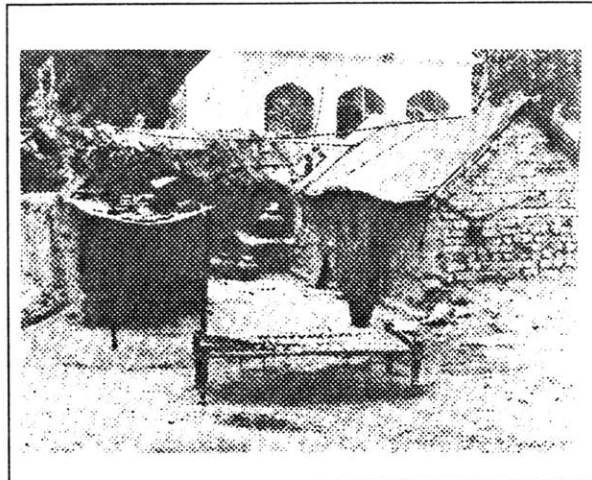
The survey is executed in order to evaluate a more complex process pertaining to the use of buildings and its socio-spaces, the relationship of individual units to the whole, and the role that such housing plays in the lives of its occupants. It is evaluated within the following three categories:

- i) -Detail physical survey to ascertain, nature , location and condition of all services and facilities and the distribution of private and communal land.
- ii) -Random stratified social survey conducted to obtain data on household structure, reasons for migration, extent of progress within the city, present housing , employment and domestic circumstances, and future needs and aspirations.
- ii) -Spatial/activity survey, to assess the factors which facilitated or inhibited the ability of the settlement to support a stable domestic life.

Two methods are used to analyze the intensification and nature of space utilization.

-Method A consists of a statistical survey- to formulate an "efficiency ratio" which indicates the intensity of communal space utilization during the period of the study. (Frame 3.4.2-3.4.6.)

-Method B: a graphic technique; a qualitative insight, indicate visually the spatial distribution of activities. With the parameters of the study defined in (Frame 3.4.7.)



Frame 3.4.5. : How is the Charpie that is usually rented to a labourer, categorized in the "Typology of low-income settlements"

#### -Location and Characteristics

- Official intervention
- Physical layout
- Housing
- Commerce and industry
- Study areas
  - spatial/activity survey
  - social survey
  - case histories

Frame 3.4.4. Parameter of the study for Maulana Azad College settlement.

Within the parameters of the social survey, there is a need to define these occidental term used in the questionnaire: 'social mobility, 'social cohesion' and 'group solidarity' (Appendix-A) One is tempted to question the reliability and accuracy of the response to the questionnaire? The outcome from the questionnaire usually leads to a recommendation for an alternative program. However, the justification of alternative programs, frequently direct the reasoning to specific issues predetermined by the surveyor.

*Maulana Azad Settlement*

Area	No. of hutments	Average plot area in m <sup>2</sup>	Efficiency ratio	Effective communal space per hutment in m <sup>2</sup>	Actual communal space per hutment in m <sup>2</sup>
1	60	12.0	2.58	15.0	5.9
2	14	11.05	2.46	53.5	20.9
3	26	12.8	1.69	29.7	17.5
4	21	13.0	1.75	39.2	22.4

Frame 3.4.3.: "Typology of low-income settlements"

## Application of the method

### 1) Payne's dependency on empirical data

Payne's analysis of the settlement is dependent on two different types of parameters. The first is a matrix of physical dwelling units based on material used against the construction types and tenure status. (Frame 3.4.3.) It is the systematic assemblage of what Payne call the "Typology of low-income settlements". The second is a study of the role of housing in the lives of its occupants. (Frame 3.4.4.)

Within Payne's framework, the 'housing' is categorized under the limitations of a matrix; where the construction type is compared to tenure status. There is little place for divergence within the type for use of the local terminology does not obviate the fact that the categories which a settlement is compartmentalized into are formulated under the public authority's characterization of building types. (e.g. apartment /flats, chawl/ tenement, detached house unit, etc.) (Frame 3.4.3.) The terms 'temporary', 'mixed' and 'permanent' are ambiguous, and dependent on the surveyors judgement

and the questionnaire used. (Appendix -A)

Under such interactive and complex sets of conditions in squatter settlements, how delineative is the empirical method of spatial analysis "appropriate to the socio-economic realities" in which they operate? It is dependent and derived through "efficiency ratios" (Frame 3.4.6.) with a general application to both the settlements irrespective of its varying development process and existence.

*Method A*

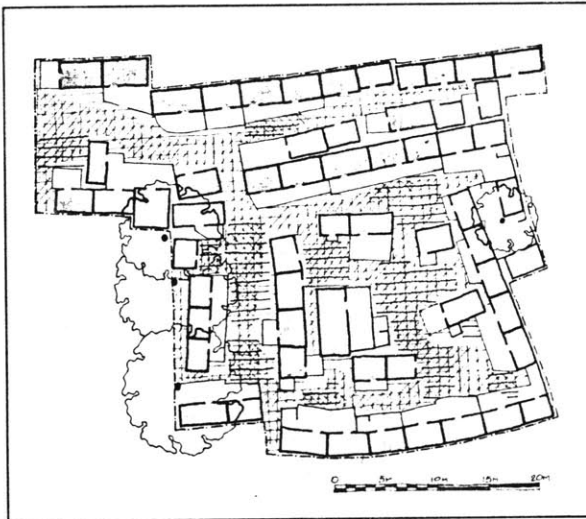
TOTAL AREA	1120 m <sup>2</sup>
PRIVATE SPACE AREAS:	
Indoor space	477.0 m <sup>2</sup>
Covered verandah	3.0 m <sup>2</sup>
Open space	286.0 m <sup>2</sup>
Total Private Areas	766.0 m <sup>2</sup>
Therefore,	
The Total Communal Open Space = 1120.0 - 766.0	= 354 m <sup>2</sup>
COMMUNAL OPEN SPACES:	
① Circulation	354.0 m <sup>2</sup>
② Children's play areas	175.0 m <sup>2</sup>
③ Communal meeting space	175.0 m <sup>2</sup>
④ Open air cooking	00.0 m <sup>2</sup>
⑤ Summer open air sleeping	65.0 m <sup>2</sup>
⑥ Latrines and toilet areas	00.0 m <sup>2</sup>
⑦ Cattle (grazing or tethered)	00.0 m <sup>2</sup>
⑧ Commercial areas	00.0 m <sup>2</sup>
⑨ Domestic or cottage industry	142.0 m <sup>2</sup>
⑩ Water taps, washing and domestic laundry areas	00.0 m <sup>2</sup>
Others	00.0 m <sup>2</sup>
Total Effective Public Space	911.0 m <sup>2</sup>
The efficiency ratio of this area was therefore as follows:	
$\frac{\text{EFFECTIVE SPACE}}{\text{ACTUAL SPACE}} = \frac{911.0}{354} = 2.58$	
Since the number of individual plots = 60, and the total plot area = 776 m <sup>2</sup> the average plot area = 12.0 m <sup>2</sup> of which approximately 8.0 m <sup>2</sup> (0.66 of the total area) was occupied by the huts themselves.	
The average effective communal space per dwelling unit was therefore:	
$\frac{\text{EFFECTIVE SPACE}}{\text{NO. OF DWELLING UNITS}} = \frac{911}{60} = 15.1 \text{ m}^2$	
On this basis, the effective space per household was more than twice the actual space.	

Frame 3.4.6. "Efficiency of the spatial/ activity organization."

ii) **Quantitative solutions in undersatanding a place.**

In this case one can question the need for the first method, based on th existence of the second; Is it a response to the limitations of such a matrix in elucidating how housing is used or what role it plays in the lives of its occupants.

Payne demonstrates a methodological empirical approach to exploring the intensity of spatial activities within the socio-spatial structure of a Maulana Azad College Colony in Delhi. The information generated by this presents a collection of quantitative data ( matrix, plan, and graphic representation). However the analysis is linear and within the realm of his empirical reasoning to allow for validation of his his argument in using spatial activities ratio. The method deviates from its descriptive richness when Payne identifies the spatial activity organization as the central factor in the maintenance of the social structure and proceeds



Frame 3.4.7 Graphic Spatial Distribution of Activities.

to assess the "particular character of the Spatial Activity Organization operating in the settlement. (Frame 3.4.6. & Frame 3.4.7.) The danger of such a frame is not the single minded perseverance of proving the point through an "efficiency ratio", but in the limited perception of what constitutes a socio-spatial activity and in the major importance given to such a factor which can be misinterpreted as the sole factor in providing social interaction.

Paynes alternatives are directed towards collective efforts in self generating socio-culturally active spaces. But given the method of inquiry and the formulas used, it limits the understanding of the 'spatial activity' of a place. It is a rationalist approach to space and does not account for multitude of activities that make a space a "place". The result is a quantitative abstraction \_\_ a one dimensional cut of a place, with minimum demonstration of the developmental process; the layering of energy, life and events are among the many factors which account for the essence of "place making".



Frame 3.4.8. How do "efficiency ratio's" account for the multitude of activities that make a space a place?

"Within the Maulana Azad example, the areas with the highest ratios of effective /actual communal space, were the two court plans in which the central spaces were surrounded by the small hutments accommodating small households. The same spatial characteristic exists in the Rouse Avenue site where the court cluster has the highest 'efficiency ratio', of those studied and is again surrounded mainly by smaller families. " (Payne, 1977, p.171)

"...their areas had the lowest efficiency ratio of all the groups, it also had the lowest density and the largest huts and plots, so that spatial standards were much higher ...." (Payne, 1977, p.69)

location of the huts from the externalities that influence the urban fabric. The term 'relationship' of plots to the spatial organization of places is used with great ambiguity where a definition of 'relationship' is warrant.

iii) the reliance on a single factor to explore the settlement.

Payne compares the formation and development of the two unauthorized settlements dependent on the "spatial organization" with minimum indications of the economic and political forces that drive and develop a large percentage of these unauthorized colonies. However limited is its qualitative description, is a successful attempt to link the settlement as a system of spaces, activity and uses.

In the above text the 'spatial standards' is assumed to be dependent on two factors: the first factor is dependent on the 'implication of the data' while the second can be assumed to be the criteria of the analyst, the public authority or some other institutional body. Moreover taking this inquiry of standards one step further we can question the object of comparison which might have been derived from the colonial era; as mentioned in p. ; these standards were set for totally different reason: used to segregate the British from the local inhabi-

From the above text the term 'ratio' is not an effective way of describing a communal space. As a ratio is a relationship between two similar magnitudes in respect to the number of times the first contains the second; it is a proportional relationship, which makes it difficult to be informed of the socio-spatial character and its connection to the daily operation of a place. Although there is great clarity in differentiating the plot sizes based on the

SETTLEMENT POPULATION: 1590				SETTLEMENT AREA: 9495m <sup>2</sup>										
Dwelling type	% of type to total	Construction type			Tenure status									
		Temporary	Mixed	Permanent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
exposed site	0													
hutment	100%	87.5	8.5	4.0			79.8					20.2		
room in block	0													
chawl/tenement	0													
apartment/flat	0													
linked house unit	0													
detached house unit	0													

Frame 3.4.9. : Spatial Activity Organization.

tants.

The data of "communal space per household unit" derived with scientific precision, effectively provides a clue to the ability to maintain a complex and coherent social organization, despite a minimal plot size with a highly restricted communal space. (Frame 3.4.9.) However, does this data qualify the role of communal areas compensating "spatially for the inadequacies of the private domain"? The graphic technique implemented (Frame 3.4.7.) to designate high activity areas allows one to question the nature of the informative nature of such a technique in providing the operational social activities taking place. For that matter neither does not Method A provide us with adequate qualitative information?

Payne's criteria for high efficiency is designated to a *courtyard plan* with a focal rather than a linear form, specific to *small families*; while, linear groupings is preferred for high efficiency level for the larger families.

The composition process applied by Payne is reported at the level of infrastructure layouts which is actually the layout of the settlements. This illustrates the distinction Payne makes between houses and settlements. He argues against the issue of Third World Cities having "a housing problem" and advocates collectively conscious sites and services projects. This recommendation arises from the problem of land use allocation and resource planning, leaving the generation of houses and collective spaces to the community. This alter-

native, seems dependent on a rationalized deterministic understanding of spatial activities, derivative of the formulas and graphic shading to the highly active areas of the settlement. Such a suggestion within the architectural and place making realm, is definitely a major step in the right direction. As early sites and services projects used efficiency and economic criterion in the design of infrastructure layout \_ without any sensitivity to developing a repository of activity and occupancy in a place.

The recommendation to pilot project programs for the 'testing of alternative approaches'; fails to demonstrate Paynes initial stand for the plight of the the urban poor, who "frequently become the scape goats for the failure of planners to fully evaluate the socio-economic context within which these policies operate" for an contextual manifestation of physical form. Therefore, it is not only modernity and industrialization but, the acculturation of minds that can be viewed in the realm of alienation.

Finally, Payne's proposal is concerned with the formulation of a more general or homogeneous and collective environment. Is Payne using his analytical understanding of spatial organizations, as implicit guides and indicators which will then stimulate the various factors in the evolution and development of "place making"? He argues that the process is valid as far as provisions for activities are made for adjustments and to improve or add layers of occupancy to enhance the future of the place. This implicit knowledge makes attempts to

revisit Corbusiers Monsuier Fruere Quarters projects at Pessac where a fair amount of activity is provoked by the standardized elements of building and where there is an implicit assumption made towards the spontaneity followed which developed into a rich and heterogenous vocabulary of a place and its people.

Although, Payne begins his statement in favour of the shelter provided by the unauthorized settlements over attempts made by professionally trained architects planners and public administration. Specific to the case of rural migrants, he distinguishes between housing and settlement problems in urban center. He questions the simple solution of shelter and proceeds to access the available resources and opportunity in “:formulating alternative housing and planning frameworks”. One has to be careful in using terms such as “problems” as the analysis can be interpreted as providing a singular solution without taking into consideration the broader issues and forces in the development of settlements within the socio-political urban area. Similarly, when using the term “alternatives” one can fall into the trap of assuming it to be a choice between two things or a choice limited to one of the two or more possibilities as in the dictionary definition. Whereby the theories, policies and methods are perceived as solutions.

Similar to contemporary intellectuals ( Peattie, Turner ), his major concern is born from questioning the concepts of urbanization and urbanism with the import of policies and experiences from

Europe and North America. The existing conceptual framework in which this settlement is presented provides a wider frame of reference, but the framework for possible intervention is left undressed or merely reconfigured to the existing concepts.

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*reflections on exploration on perceptions and action*

*"We understand that different kinds of phenomenal totalities are important to man and that he develops corresponding 'tools' to handle them . Science alone does not give us a complete picture of our world of perceptions and actions. While, the phenomena make up a potentially continuous universe the objects may be compared to a 'grid' with defined points and relations between the points and relations between the points but containing large 'holes'. This does not mean that we are forced to attempt non-scientific descriptions. Although it is surely is possible to describe a non-scientific symbol- system (e.g. theories of art) this description of course does not substitute the direct use of the non-scientific symbol system. What we do need are non-descriptive symbol-systems which are able to relieve the one-sidedness of science."* (Norberg-Schulz 1985), p. 63 )





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## Chapter IV : Learning from Spontaneity -

### The sense of “place making” \_ Latent Places :

*“No one knew exactly when she had begun to lose her sight. Even in her later years, when she could no longer get out of bed. It seemed that she was simply defeated by decrepitude, but no one discovered that she was blind ... She did not tell any one about it because it would have been a public recognition of her uselessness. She concentrated on a schooling in the distance of things and peoples voices... Later on she was to discover the unforeseen help of odors....She knew with so much certainty the location of everything that she herself forgot that she was blind at times.*

*One afternoon when Amaranta was embroidering on the porch with the begonias, Ursula bumped into her. “For heaven sake” Amaranta protested, “Watch where you are going.” It’s your fault,” Ursula said. “You’re not sitting where you’re supposed to”.*

*She was sure of it. But, that day she began to realize something that no one had noticed and it was that with the passing of the years the sun imperceptibly changed position and those who sat on the porch had to change their position little by little without being aware of it. From then on Ursula had only to remember the date in order to know exactly where Amaranta was sitting.”*

*(Marquez 1985 )*

The sensitivity of things and people , the position of time and events, the impact of socio-economics and political factors are some of the realities to “place making”.

#### Sensing a places..

A model of perception which provides powerful clues about our feeling for dwelling is rooted in what Bloomer and Moore call “body- image - memory”<sup>1</sup>. Critical to this understanding of body-image-memory is in understanding the use of insights which in itself do not in any way set standards for a sensitive habitable space. The

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1. For our purpose we mean to accept the body image as a complete feeling or three dimensional Gestalt (sense of form) that an individual carries at any one moment in time, of his spatial values, and his knowledge of a personal, experienced body. It should be considered a psychical rather than a physical model.

‘body-image’, (Bloomer and Moore) is formed fundamentally from haptic <sup>2</sup> and orienting experiences in life. Our visual images are developed later on , and depend for their meaning on primal experiences that were acquired haptically.

Similarly, we assign to buildings, especially squatters, and spontaneous settlements meanings which are first known haptically and following up by the recalling of visual properties by illuminating

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2. The property of haptic sensing is called kinesthesia. No other sense deals as directly with the three dimensional world of similarly carries with it the possibility of altering the environment in the process of perceiving it; that is to say no other sense engages in feeling and doing simultaneously. Of course constructing a model of perception around environmental information does not take into account the contribution of the body to personal and cultural memories. Kent C. Bloomer and Charles W. Moore 1977

or disguising a building of spatial invitation. The meaning of a place and the act of place making can not be derived from kinesthesia. It is seen particularly in the case of spontaneous settlements which are developed through layers of complex linkages to cities and its systemic networks, rather than image making..

The concern to provide for an image is a debatable issue. The 'image,' of a place is an important factor in the existence of the settlement which demonstrates its fate towards demolition or upgradation.

There is a distinction made between the "feeling" of a place developed by the whole body in the act of spontaneity and the "objective" space described through mathematical and graphic measurement. (as demonstrated by Payne) The latter is devoid of spatial experiences due to its evolution based on an empirical set of specifications while the former by contrast refers to an internal world of streets and spaces. The spontaneous settlements dependent on the external world centered around "landmarks" and "memories". They reflect a life time of events encountered within a dynamic society progressing and changing rapidly.

A psychoanalytical understanding of space and the environment as described by Bloomer and Moore introduces the danger of perceiving the exploration as a data assimilating bank. (as demonstrated by Payne's exploration) Although, an anthropocentric exploration contributes to the factor in understanding dwellings. There is a impecuni-

ousness in the tools used for implementing and translating of information ]in order to incorporating these perceptions to existing notions of a habitable dwellings for the common man. More that often the tools present results limited to the utilization of the tools.

#### **A matter of experience....**

This chapter, is not a chronological analysis on squatter settlements\_\_ a history. It is an exploration of an experience of 'being' in a settlement. Born out of that experience are the discoveries presented in the following exploration. It is a description of different realities to be considered, without compartmentalizing the factors, but, discovering the interactive dynamic linkages in the evolution of spontaneous settlements with the development of time.

It is important to note the universes of my concerns are floating in a common sea of adhocism dependent on history and the present environment. These perceptions would allow for an interactive process of development dependent on natural and artificial factors of need, efficiency, utility; all which is implicit in the underlying nature of an urban city. However, this realm of adhocism provides connections between the universes of conviction and experiences. These personal experiences to a place and the occidental education, thus sets grounds for the relevant realities as explored by me with my conviction for understanding the realities of place making in developing countries. This exploration may lead to thoughts on the intentions of building an environments within common socio-spatial grounds, with a tacit understanding of the so called norms and or salient rules.

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These squatter settlements are being explored for the presentness<sup>3</sup> of their state and their role in the transformation of the urban fabric. Presentness is the sense of existence and impact which is felt not only in the site occupied by the settlements but which extends to external linkages with industry, labour and the construction market of the broader urban system. Critical to this study, is the choice of the particular place/ settlement. It is born out of the notion of *experiencing* a place in order to make environments and not for the purpose of form making. In this exploration the operative word is 'seeing' that is the observation of place making and not 'looking' for something which might lead to a problem solving exercise. It is the sensing and the interpretations of the forces in the evolution of such a place created by the layering of the internal history on human events.

Such insights to the evolution and vocabulary of spontaneous settlements are not to be used as instrument merely for describing events (facts, and states of affair). Their grammar contains a cosmology – a comprehensive view of the world, of society and of man predicament in Third World Cities. It is expressive through an invisible central exchange of linkages and bonds, the historically changing patterns; demonstrating man's control of his environment or vice versa.

### The act of spontaneity

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3. Presentness is the existence of conventions, knowledge, economic and political positions, and physical environments in the existing conditions of a place and time for potential in continuity.

This section is directed towards learning from spontaneity within the world of informal settlements. The term '*spontaneity*' is that unpremeditated freedom of self expression in the 'built scape', with a tacit understanding of the society. It contains the development of a place in a memory to people and their basic needs.

This chapter explores the role of spontaneous settlements. It demonstrates the interactive development and the evolution of 'place making'. This interactive approach constitutes a series of social events, needs and decisions which present me with frame of references for a comprehensive understanding of future urban environments and their linkages to the city and its system of networks. The methods analyzed in the previous chapter have provided me with frame of references in order to set my criteria for exploring spontaneous settlements within the ordinary lives of the developing countries..

The power and pride of such a place demonstrates an effort in connecting industry with dwellings and political manipulations with simple requirement of life interpreted into a personalized architecture. It is this human instinct that is derived from social and economic predicaments (i.e external factors). The act to create a sense of place which is a resultant of one's socio-cultural needs and linkages to a memory, of a place. It is the latent environment,<sup>4</sup> the un-realized potential environ-

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4. The latent and Influential environments are defined in the introduction par. I-1.4

ment unassimilated by the professional world, which can be recognized as unexploited or unrecognized but theoretically possible.

Arising from and a derivative of the professional dichotomy and duality in the urban fabric, (discussed in chapter II); is the birth of a new socio-spatial and political form - '*spontaneous settlements*,' commonly referred to as squatter settlements. I will refer to them as '*spontaneous settlements*' as the case in point is not in validating the action of their creation, but the convictions in the initiative taken for the active participation in an economically driven built environment, while, maintaining the socio-spatial dimensions and linkages to their every day life and the past gone by.

The acceptance and consolidation of these settlements, is dependent on the confidence and consistency within which it is built. It indicates the adaptation from a stable context, one that is deeply rooted in society and tradition<sup>5</sup> but not in traditionalism<sup>6</sup> that paralysis the process of change in time of such physical manifestations.

#### **The frame work**

Learning from the expressions of spontaneity and small scale interventions particularly in the inner cities of India and Pakistan; will allow for a discernment in the rationality behind the socio-spatial, political and economic factor that determine and guide the existence of such settlements with a tenacious bond within the polemics of urbaniza-

tion in developing countries.

The exploration is within the areas of exploration the act of place making as a production process and thus part of a larger system and comprehending the act of place making with an interactive reclamation fo place , culture and market forces.

With these criteria in mind , we can now look at the actualities and realities of contributions by the common man. It is an attempt to emancipate the built environment from the paralysis of contrived and inadequate forms of place making and development.

The essence of spontaneity is that which has a sense of culture and time yet is ordered and based on utilitarianism. These environments will be explored within there different evolutionary universes of structures, with concerns to redefining the perceptions and intentions towards making a sense of place. The exploration is of two settlements. Each settlement is referring to particular aspects within its evolution and development. The settlement with the recycling industry with habitable sewerage pipes in Sanata Cruz, is explored for its linkages to the neighborhood in maintaining the recycling industry and for the spatial configuration developed within the realm of 'place making'. The village of Daulat Nagar in Bandra, Bombay India is explored with it diverse group of dwellers who individually proceeded with building a community. This sense of community is

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5. Tradition is the conforming to conventions based on the present environmental situations.

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6. Traditionalism a norm caught in antiquity or specific period gone by.

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demonstrated by the collective effort through the reclamation, of the land, culture, identity and place. It is the discovery in the making of an influential environment from the latent environment. Where the knowledge is implicit to the makers ( i.e. the community and the people) in memories to the future.



## Chapter IV

# The pipe basti of Santa Cruz - recycling Linkages

## an introduction

In exploring such spontaneous environments we are burdened with preconceptions and assumption born from western precedents. These assumptions, limit the multi-chromatic view of reality in the urbanization of developing countries. The purpose of this discernment is to provide an array of frames to increase and enhance our powers of observation, in setting a platform towards the act of place making. The platform is explored within the cross sectional universe of external and internal history in order to understand the formation and allotment of space, the use of the pipes and its connection to the market forces, the society and the function of the neighborhood on the settlement. This exploration should reveal the systemic evolution of space developed according to implicit rules strongly bound to history, market exchange society and cultural values

The exploration of the pipe settlement is based on my limited exposure to the settlement. It is dependent on my intuitive response to the environment and what is revealed to me by the place and the people. The exploration is not categorized under a reliance on a single factor that might impact the pipe settlement. It is not an

analysis but an exploration, which is an interactive process. It tries to comprehend the process of recycling which has led to the occupation and development of the settlement. It is an exploration of what it is and my interpretation to the dynamic process.

The introduction arises from the consciousness only at the last, and rather because it is last that it is always first. Therefore, based on the reflection on action; the structure of the exploration is dependent on the layering of events, activities and decisions made in consideration to the act of "place making". Moreover, it the precises layering of events that are experienced by me in December of 1987, which gives this exploration its particular structure and relevance. It is important that in the structure I am able to represent the gradual acceptance by the residents, of my presence and the probing questions. This acceptance is presented by the progressive movement of my exploration from the public space to the more private homes. The sub-categories of factors to be explored are intentionally not numbered in case of being misinterpreted as presenting a priority to the concerns.

The introduction to such a 'basti' is a difficult task. What is important is the experiencing of such a place, which breaks away from a typical form of a house. For instance in this settlement the notion of having a door or window, the concept of private and public are distinct from other settlements. These differences will be explored within the habitation and operation of the place.

In this 'pipe basti' the act of 'place making' is unique not only due to the transformations of the pipes based on change in function but by the dominating presence of the informal industry, which played a major role in its evolution. It is chosen for its temporary habitable state which has established links to the recycling market. It is a settlement which will exist due to its linkages to the formal recycling industry. It may be relocated but, maintained due to the continuity of the informal business. Therefore, it has a high probability of being relocated but not really demolished. I now proceed with by introducing the pipe settlement and my perception to their existence.

#### the presence of occupancy...

Our memories as individuals and as cultures become located in spaces and demand certain associations. The 'pipe basti' of Santa Cruz demonstrate the unique adaptation and transformation in the *living patterns* of settlements. They are an active contributors to the dynamics of a third world city. As stated by Schultz *'in the house a man experiences his being part of the world'* (Norberg Schultz, 1985, p.13) Similarly the dwellers of the 'basti' are not restricted or constrained by the

physical form of the concrete storm drain pipes. It is, Schultz maintains, the Heideggerian notion that 'spaces' receive their being from location and not from space. When dwelling in this sense is simultaneously located in space and exposed to certain environmental character which determines his dwelling. To make a site become a place, that is to uncover the meanings potentially present in the given." (Schultz 1985)

#### perceptions to realistic illusions

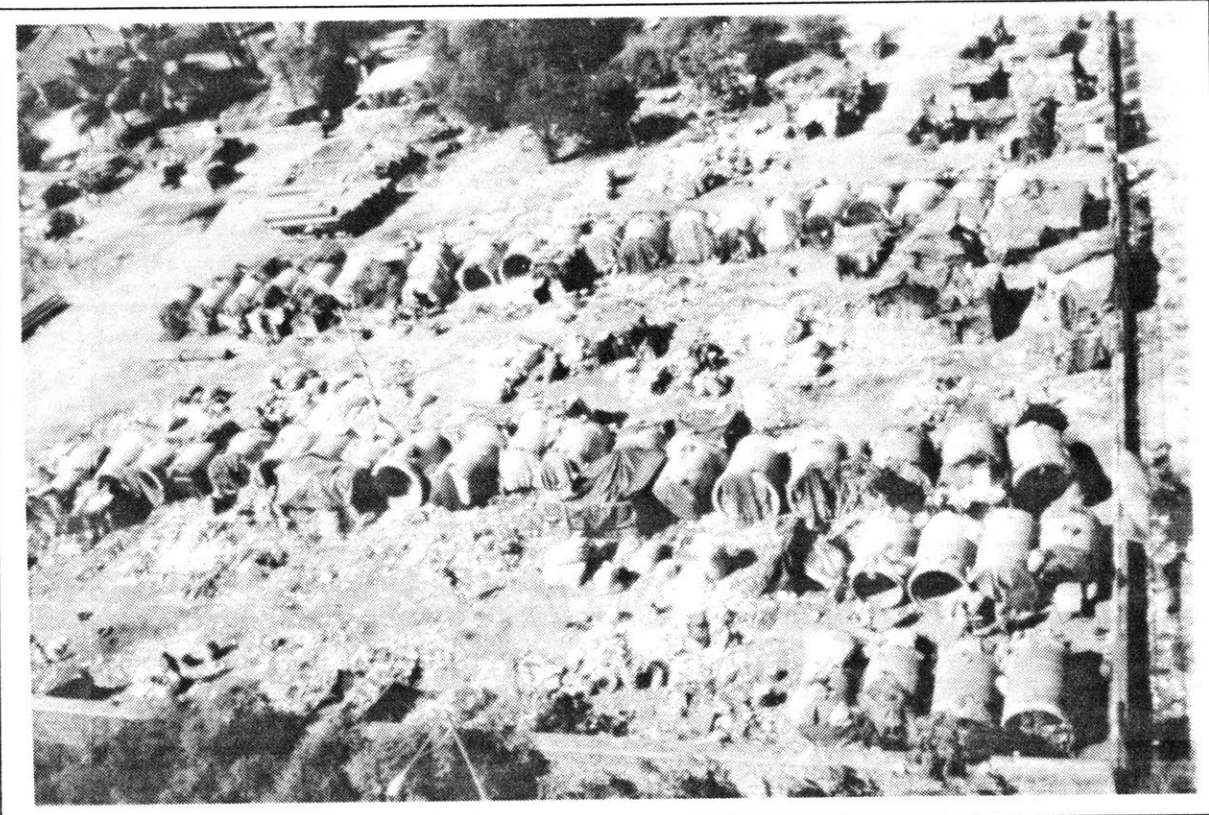
The initial impression of a squatter settlement has a tendency of negative connotations. Although these places have evolved through an implicit understanding of the locale, their history and are a consequence of their society but, the garbage recycling settlement in Santa Cruz is assumed to be the epidemic of life and the place for the refuse of society. Dead ends to nothingness.

The uniqueness of this settlement, is demonstrated by the occupation and the efficient use of sewage and storm drain pipes. It is further reinstated by the fact that the community has generated linkages to the external history of the neighboring built environment to help maintain its own existence. It is the illusions of the physical protective walls in the publicly owned compound 1, which keeps off predators and supposedly, protect the illegal settlement from the legal eyes of the public sector. It is the genesis of a place that evokes a nostalgia to the pre-colonial settlement and their complex linkages to the *'presentness'*<sup>2</sup> in built environments

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1. compound:- a stretch of land described by the British, within the parameters of a house, for recreational purposes.





Frame 4.1.1 The sewage Pipe settlement of Santa Cruz.

and their *being*.

This 'presentness' and the 'sense of being' is defined mutually inclusive of one another. Presentness on the one hand is the sense of existence and impact which is felt not only in the site occupied by the settlements but which extends to external linkages with industry, labour and the employment market of the broader urban system. Heidegger on the other hand confesses 'being' as a dubious procedure, but consideration of the prejudices has clarified the issue, that not only is the answer to the question of 'being' lacking, but even the question of itself is obscure and without direction. Therefore

*2. 'presentness': a sense not dependent on the an historical or chronological duration of it existence but the linkages to a broader network within the present built environment.*

the question to the meaning of 'being' in association to place making must be formulated. It is this realm of being and presentness that is to be explored in the learning from spontaneity. It is to provide a higher degree of perceptive insight with a greater array of frames (developed through exploration in chapter Three) to look from.

#### **The stage set for political and market forces.....**

The evolution of this settlement, began some 8 years ago, when the Bombay Municipal Corporation(BMC) was obligated to its voters, to provide for infrastructure. Sewage and water lines in the Bandra reclamation were connected in the area for the section of the newly developed high rise apartments. Once the infrastructure work was

completed; (due to high transportation cost of returning the pipes and in case of future use; )the BMC stored the remaining pipes on this site owned by the BMC. The authorities had unforeseen the serendipitous events that would develop on this plot of land. The site had provided the seeds of place making to grow. Moreover, it will provide for a dialogue towards the making of a "repository place".

Contrary, to all condemnations this settlement in Santa Cruz, Bombay presents a highly complex system linked to the broader market exchange economy of greater Bombay. The settlement is not only a habitable place but is primarily a warehouse and recycling and distinction between factory for garbage. Driven out of the rural areas in pursuit of employment and shelter the dwellers need are temporarily fulfilled by occupying public property which provide them with a base to work for and consequently generated a source of income.

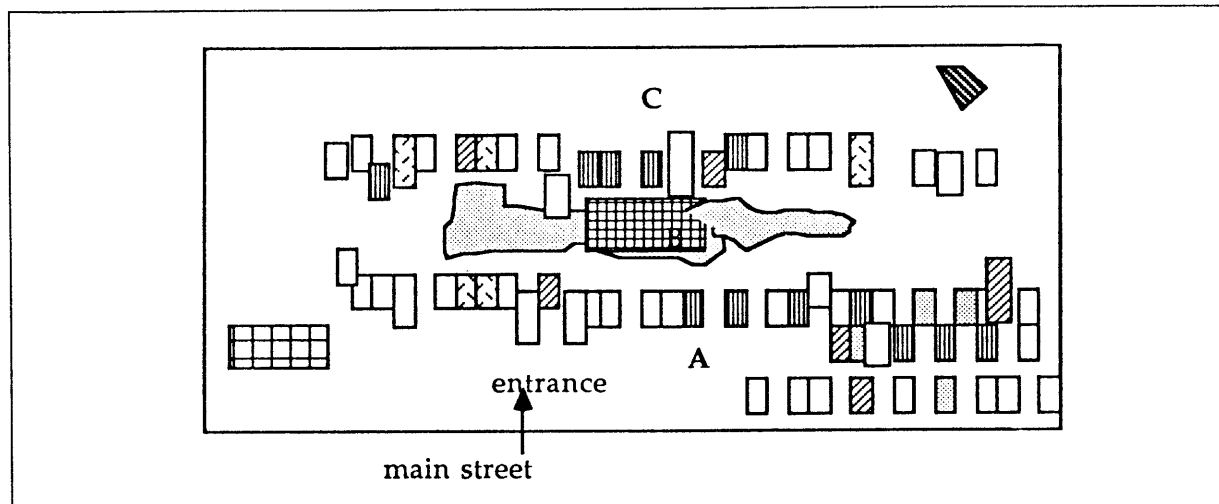
Occidentally speaking the recycling operation within this settlement, is synonymous to the infamous Robin Hood. But such a rationalized comparison would not demonstrate or do justice to the realities of a desperate situation to survive in the competitive market of India; as Robin hood evolved within a feudal system where there was no concept of a market. The exploration of the settlement, is to understand its operation right from its evolution, its social and political links within and outside of the settlement, the impact of its existence to the neighboring community, its method of survival and its exploitation of the loop



*Frame 4.1.2 My first glimpse of the pipe settlement; (curtsey N. Reeves)*

holes in the systemic institutional order of the city.

The high rise apartment (frame 4.1.2) provides a critically dependent yet ironic backdrop for the evolution of the metaphorical sherwood forest. These apartments provide for the genesis of such squatter settlements, as their development is economically dependent on the refuse of the rich that is recycled and sold to provide for the poor. Therefore, the apartments indirectly provide the settlement with an access to the complex world of self generated linkages into the urban market exchange economy. It is the chain of events dependent on specific factors of reality which provide the making of a place. In the case of the



Frame 4.1.3. A diagrammatic layout of the basti specifying the zones based on the operation of the place.

pipe settlement the realities are the factors of: garbage disposal, unemployment, work opportunity by the recycling industry, the middle income housing stock which in turn creates the jobs and service opportunity, which consequently, provides access to the recycled item - in this case garbage. All these factors of reality develop a settlement which is to be interpreted and defined in the next paragraph.

#### critical dimensions to

In one sense I could, analytically describe the settlement within a single empirical methodology. The case in point would be in viewing the settlement based on critical dimensions, distances and the number of pipes used for a singular function. The analysis could proceed by questioning and predicting the fate and transformation and development of the settlement with the assumption that the number of pipes are gradually being

reduced. But one can hardly make this phenomena of place making a model for replication. As their existence is a single event dependent on factors at the time of their evolution. The original settlement consists of 87 habitable pipes<sup>3</sup> within the enclosure of the wall; the interior Zone B developed with 75 habitable pipes were laid out in two rows of pipes positioned on the north and south direction of the site. But, within 6 months<sup>4</sup> the settlement had reduced and changed its configuration, where some 11 habitable pipes were missing. (Rumor has it that they were taken for its original use, for further infrastructure layout). These pipes have now been replaced with the mushrooming of thatched huts, which are similar in material and construction to the one occupied by the neighbors on the north eastern corner of the compound. (Frame 4.1.1)

However, the above information brings us no closer to perceiving a sense of the functioning of a place.

3. A study made on the initial slide presented by Nicolas Reeves, of this pipe settlement in the Bandra Reclamation area, Bombay India. Aga Khan Travel Grant. July 1987

4. January 1988, Ahmereen Reza site visit to Bandre pipe settlement in Bandra Reclamation area, Bombay India.

a penetrating observation can be developed with the use of photograph. One has to transcend the world of rationalized empirical data collection and descend to the reality of experiencing such places, in order to provide an essence of *repository place making*. (Ashraf 1988, p. 67)

A revisit to the perception of place will probably reveal some potentiality. A Place as explained by Ashraf (1988, p. 114) is a geo-psychic realm, which means the formation of place occurs as much as in the physical terrain as in the collective mind. It is this intrinsic association, of the physical landscape with the 'landscape of the mind', which runs as a constant factor through all categories of understanding place. Furthermore, a place is a terrain where this association has contiguous significance for its dwellers. To describe it as a realm also means it has an edge; it is a container. In this idea of containment, place also becomes a repository of both artifacts and of human events. E.V. Walter, in *Placeways*, recalls Plato's doctrine of Place as "the active receptacle of shapes, powers, feelings, and meanings, organizing the qualities within it, energizing experience." (Ashraf, 1988, p.114)

#### **The presentness of its state.....**

This exploration will attempt to overcome the temporal entity of the pipe, while trying understand the act of 'repository place making' and its ramification to the presentness of its state, in connection with issues of urban in consideration to culture, politics and the market exchange society.

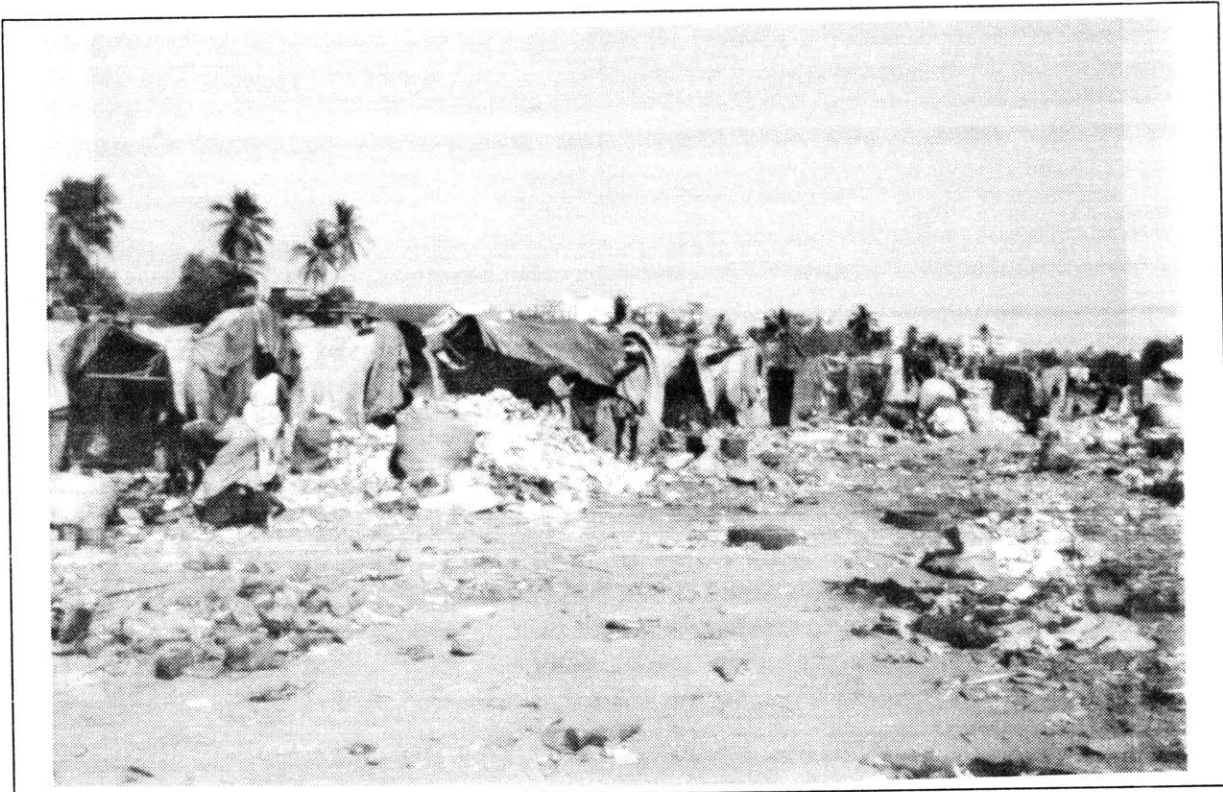
The understanding of a repository place compels me to begin afresh. The only information pertaining to the pipe settlement, was the general location of the Bandra reclamation area and the its linkage to the train, originating from Church Gate station in Bombay.

The adventure in exploring the pipe settlements of Bandra, with the all too, familiar rickshaw ride. This journey to the site provided information regarding the impact of such a pipe settlement on the security and safety of the neighborhood. These intimations posed a greater curiosity in exploring the settlement. Strangely enough, an inquiry into the exact location of the "pipe-basti"<sup>5</sup> in that area provoked a response to the recognition of the settlement, not due to its multi functional use of pipes but in admiration for the complex garbage recycling process. Although I confess to my initial intrigue, for the forms of the pipes and its use as dwelling units.

This intrigue demonstrated the difference in evaluating a place, as a form maker rather than a place maker; I was initially, intrigued by the habitable potential provided by a sewer pipe more than the activities resulting from the recycling industry. Moreover, the term 'pipe settlements' itself limits the potential and defines parameters within its physical descriptive boundary.

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5. *pipe-basti's : settlements in sewerage and water pipes. Strangely enough there seems to be no translation for the term pipes as it is a western invention, indigenous counterpart were open 'nallas' / drains.*



*Frame 4.1.4 a & b The pipe settlement where each household displays his stack of garbage in front of the dwelling .*

The rickshaw driver, finally located the settlement. It was a settlement which is known to have evolved on the public 'Maidan' i.e. the foot ball field. I was escorted by a contractor and warned about the dangers of the place. As in the recent past there were incidents of rape and murder prevalent in this area. However once at the site I felt secure. The security was a response to the enclosure of the place. This was demonstrated by the boundary wall and the gate to the lot, which is a rare item in squatter settlements. Its presence marked the entrance of a distinctly separate built environment. My presence and the zoom lens to my camera caught the attention of the children but, the women apparently continued to go about their business.

The first impression of the stacks of garbage was

overwhelming, (frame 4.1.4) not for its odor but for the organization, selection of materials and its colorful presence in such a desolate situation of poverty. The absence of nauseous odor made me conscious of the selective process involved in garbage recycling with particular care in not selecting bio degradable garbage. Therefore the place was not a proverbial 'festering third world cesspool', but a warehouse for the recycling of goods.

The recycling process not only provided an increased multi functional value of the object, such as plastic and brown paper bags, metal and plastic bottle tops, and newspapers; it also decreased the unemployment rate of that area. For on occasions



the dwellers included the neighborhood to help in packaging and weigh the garbage or in transporting it to the recycling agent.

#### **territorial domain**

Once inside the settlement I aware of the absence of the men in the activities of the settlement where the women and the children were scuttling about allotting garbage to specific pipes for storage. This role reversal is emphasized by the domineering and informative discussions by the women on the comprehensive understanding of the neighborhood and their role in providing services, to the various households.

The women are the ones who have the link to resource in maintaining this settlement. The nature of the labor market at that class level and the psyche of the surrounding network and society which permits only the women to work as servant, as janitors, cooks and washer women to the "begum sahibs"<sup>6</sup> of the high rise apartments. This bias towards employing women stems from the assumption that the wives of the employers at the next social and economical level up stay at home while the husbands are out working and most of the day. Therefore "naturally" with their safety in mind, it was the women that were commonly employed in the territorial domain of the man in such a patriarchal society.

However the men of the pipe settlement were designated the job of distributing and sorting the



Frame 4.1.5 The men sorting the bottle tops for recycling

garbage (frame 4.1.5) which needed to be given to the recycling agent or market. The process of sorting included the cleaning weighing and packaging of the garbage into compact one meter cubes. Having clarified the position and role of the inhabitant, it provides a platform to proceed in the exploring the presentness of the 'basti'.

#### **changing territories**

Although, this is not a place to advance a theory on the image of all squatter settlements. The allotment of spaces is no less ordered than the western traditions of public spaces and is based on territorial development through occupation. The patterns of the occupied private space determines the shape of the public space different from the western model of territorial occupation which follow pre-determined streets patterns. It allows for individual initiative at large.

The additional territorial depth is the result of the introduction of new power. It takes no more than two parties to make a third dominant one the

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6. "begum Sahibs" :- lady of the house, originating from the colonial era as 'the women of the white master/man'.



Frame 4.1.6 Walking down the side streets that are laden with territorial distinction demonstrated with the use of

proliferation of territorial depth in any community. However, if two territories decide to jointly create their own public space, territorial depth is increased. (Habraken 1985) That joint public space can come in two ways; either it is taken from the already existing public space or it is taken from the territories that unite themselves. The decision on the allotment of the space is dependent on the agreements of the dwellers. Territorial demarcations, stem from individual application of knowledge, with creative power towards a collective goal but, not a collective knowledge.

Consequently, the cultivation of the neighborhood is strongly emphasize with the use of space categorized within the realm of dwelling and streets. Some of the pipes function as streets and

alleyways to open areas and courtyard while, others function as homes for dwellers. (Frame 4.1.6)

Some of the pipes have been propped with large stones to provide alleyways between pipes connecting zones A, B and C. One can easily make the mistake of equating an image to the occidental



Frame 4.1.7 The Lakshna enjoying the privileges of a stoop.



*Frame 4.1.8 Initiative of the people to create lanes and homes. context, where the stoop of 'Lakshna's' home has become an area of high activity for the children. The territories of her home can be defined as, as public as in the parameters of the field 'maidan' or as private as the darkest corner of her pipe. (Frame 4.1.7 )*

Some residents have taken the initiative to change the territorial depth by extending the pipes further out into the public territory. This is achieved by the use of jute bags, other fabrics, tree trunks and branches. (covered with plastic during the monsoon season of June and July. ) (Frame 4.1.8.)



*Frame 4.1.9. Jute and fabric used in extending the territorial depth of the dwelling.*



*Frame 4.1.10 The collection area where the packaging and weighing of the final good to be sold.*

In most cases due to space constraints the kitchen and is extended outside of the physical boundary of the pipe. (Frame 4.1.9) It seems to be a clear demonstration of a prosperous couple. where, the wife is a domestic servant working in four homes while, the husband is one of the middle man operating the transaction between the settlement and the recycle agents. The position of the mediator is to insure a high market price at the final sale of the merchandise with an understanding of receiving a percentage out of the profits, as commission.

There is a distinct hierarchy present in the settlements. This is a result of the social and financial position held by various household. The location of the home specific to the zone B reflect the a higher position of the household ; as the area of storage, distribution and packaging of the goods is a prime location primarily to monitor the goods and for security reasons and of being in the center of the basti. This location allows the majority of the house hold to work with the packaging (cubic





*Frame 4.1.11. Extension of kitchen with a large collection of household artifacts.*

meter per kilogram) and final sale of the goods are usually located in zones B. (Frame 4.1.10)

There is no one rule for the expression of wealth and prosperity, it is expressed by constructing extensions to the pipe and thereby increasing the territorial domain or by a larger collection of household artifacts in a small sized home (frame 4.1.11) and is expressive of the position of the family within the structure of the settlements. There is great sense of solidarity within the settlement; where the household particularly when dealing with the sharks in recycling industry- where a strong sense of community needs to be demonstrated to prevent financial exploitation. The initial selection of the pipes during the conception of the settlement was dependent on kinship and ethnic similarity. The number of pipes to a family is dependent on the collection and distribution of the garbage, a purely market driven decision. The more a household collects the greater the benefits. The entire operation and occupancy of the settlement boils down to the net weight of the garbage and the percentage of goods sold by the

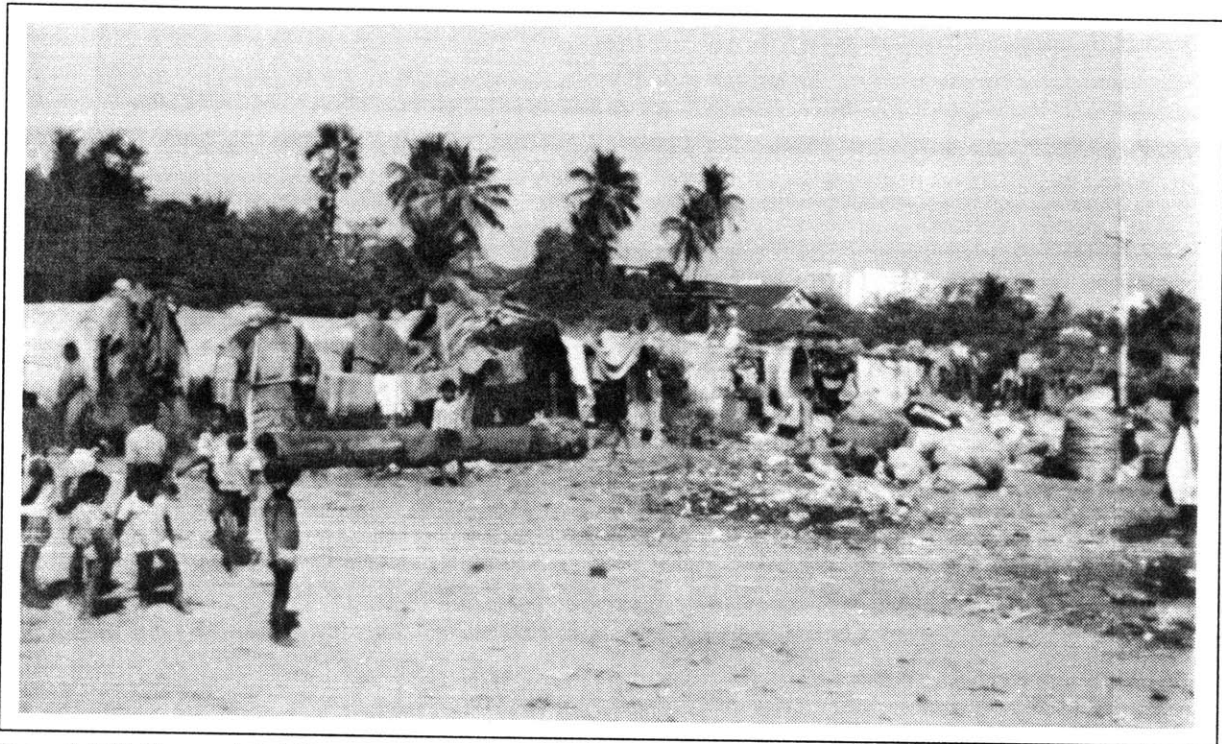
household.

The building blocks of such settlements, that is the unconventional walls and the roof between them, the rooms and hearths are important factors in the act of place making. They accommodate the initial human act of constructing a dwelling, the act of inhabiting, and call attention to the sources of human energy accumulated in time.

There is a specific sense of orientation with respect to certain accessories attachments to the pipes. The memories of a back yard having a cloth line, is expressed with the territory marked off in this case by a smaller pipe. (Frame 4.1.12.) The precise placement of objects obtain an added dimension to the of artifacts. These artifact are a result of the impact of human creation and events on a dead object. The artifacts observed, are not merely things placed in a random fashion but, are objects linked to the social dimensions of space. Similarly the pipes are used in demonstrating various functions from a home to a kitchen to a storage space and a corridor between two open spaces. These functions are dependent on the territorial boundaries specified by the dwellers.

#### **territorial depth**

The "territorial depth" of a place increases with the use of artifacts as seen in the previous examples. In the case of the settlement the space allotted to zone A (Frame 4.1.2) with the two lines of pipes facing each other, demonstrated the use of the space as public as a street or as private as the kitchen and dining areas of a home. Boundaries are defined



*Frame 4.1.12. Pipes and cloth lines expressive of memories to boundaries.*

with the placement of water, cooking utensils and personal clothes to be washed or hung to dry. The meals are not necessarily exclusive to the family but are open to the business partners in the recycling industry.

The allotment of the area designated for the final distribution and storage of the garbage is the collection area. (frame 4.1.10 ) It is situated in the middle of the site for security and visual accessibility to everyone. The area is framed out with bamboos but, during the monsoons the it is usually covered with plastic.

#### **permanent state of transition....**

Another aspect of life in these settlement is the acceptance of change and their adaptation to the rapidly transforming urban environments. This is

demonstrated by the adaptability and efficient use of material and space.

A fine example of physical adaption, in providing for growth and change within the family, is reflected in the extensions of the pipes. The dwellers have laid out concrete slabs for extensions needed with the increase in family size or kitchen additions. These extensions are used to prevent water from infiltrating the home and the storage pipes in order to protect the paper bags from water.

Rhythms, objects and events exists; but time and space are triumphant human inventions. Past present and future are recreated anew by each individual. Therefore, time is a mental device to give order to events, by identifying them as coexisting or successive.



*Frame 4.1.13. Concrete slabs used for the extension of the dwelling*

The proceeding paragraphs are my concluding reflections on the interpretation of a place which is bound and developed within the cold realities of unemployment, lack of shelter, social and market forces in a place.

These thoughts are points of clarification towards the notion of natural order and community living, but limited to my knowledge, experience and exposure to a spontaneous yet imperative development of a place.

**change in the natural order...**

How do we understand and define the natural order. Natural does not reject or assure an organic

position. Natural, is the structure inherent in the implicit knowledge of the development of the environment and the external history of that place. The pipes are in themselves the property of the landscape. The garbage is communally owned. The families are paid on the weight of the garbage brought initially from the apartment.

In understanding the order of the settlement it is inadequate to simply, categorize the structure into a typology or a construction system that is shared by the occupants. We experience an urban environment similar to a building, as space connected to one another through movement. This assessment should not presuppose a geometric pattern to present the hierarchy and order of the social operational context. Here the order appears to be within a socio-spatial hierarchy dependent on the site and seniority of the occupant in the recycling market.

The western model which is top down, creating a framework to be accommodated in by parties that will build in it; while the "indigenous model" (for lack of a better term) work at a grass root level allowing for the individual acts of the settlement to take place.<sup>1</sup> In analyzing this model, it is important to clarify the notion of typology. A typological form in a settlement does not necessary connect type to the structure of the settlement. Surprising as it may be there is a coherence in the distribution of the pipe elements (due to their initial positioning) that have no fixed form but relate to the settlement according to the implicit rules of the game played by the occupants themselves.

According to Habraken (1985 p. 43) a truly systemic knowledge is the conventional knowledge. What is of major concern is the depth at which we set our grounds for building such environments. Thus how artificial are these conventions which are driven by predetermined results?

**Communal or pluralistic.... a misnomer towards equal opportunities....**

The settlement is a collection of regional entities from the states of Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, and the greater region of Bombay. Present in the locality is the clear class distinction between the settlements and the apartment dwellers. It would be naive of me to categorize this settlement under the generalized notion of pluralistic living or communal living.

The notion of providing 'equal opportunity' in community participation is inappropriate and a misnomer. Especially in a community where a distinct hierarchical order is inherent in its evolution and growth. What is important, is the understanding and connections of such hierarchies to the people and the larger neighborhood, in order to build an environment conducive to growth and change in the rapidly transforming world of industrialization. This links us to the notion of a 'thematic system' or the 'implicit knowledge' that we share with conviction to certain arrangements, conventions and /or rejection of certain common elements in the development of built environment.

Would we call this image of the settlement, pluralistic living or community living? Would we

describe them under spontaneity or pluralism or communal living, when relocating or upgrading such places? Can we then by looking at the forest as well as the tree understand the dichotomies and dualities present within designing for places which are natural. Do we then acknowledge and admit to the artificiality of 'design' in designing dwellings for the common man and proceed from that level an attempt to provide for place making? Allowing for the clues to an incomplete puzzle to guide us, without binding ourselves merely to the physical parameters and shape of the puzzle? Outside of the world of critical dimensions, which limit and permit for set results to problem solving exercises. Do we the architects, by the use of a style, fashion, method and technical convention identify ourselves as part of a social group and thereby restrict ourselves to the specific categories in the world of architecture?

**edges to parameters....**

The final aspect of the extended domain to be considered are its boundaries which wall it in or face out from it. Especially notable is the lack of visually defined boundaries that are outlined with a parapet, or walls. The existence of the parapet wall is taken as part of the landscape of the site. The territory of the place is diagrammatically similar to an outward moving spiral. Starting from the habitable pipes out to the linkages to the neighborhood and further out to the recycling agent outside of the neighborhood and finally creating connections with the supply and demand of the larger urban market. These environment encourage a choreography of dynamic relationships

between a person from the rural areas transforming and adapting within their habitable domain and the economic occupational market i.e. self generated employment/ income generation. They are a product of and develop within, the realities of third world cities and the multiplicity of factors that impact them.



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## Chapter IV

### A Daulat Nagar — A Place of Wealth

#### an introduction

Daulat Nagar, a place named after the richness it expresses in the evolution of “repository place making”. The correct translation is; a place of wealth; a place where the temporary world of corrugated metal, bamboo frames and fragmented fabrics is linked to a memory of a culturally rich and changing tradition of India. This tradition is caught in the second wave of rapid industrialization and development. Riding the wave of development, these cities look back not in remembrance of the past but in pursuit of developing the power and pride of a place. It demonstrates the making of a home in an environment initially unfamiliar, which is transformed through the ambition of the inhabitants to survive in a competitive world. These settlements provide the solution for housing which is rooted to a society and contextual built form.

The exploration of Daulat Nagar is based on my limited experience by visiting the settlement. It is based on my intuitive response to the place and what is revealed to me by the place. The exploration is an attempt not to compartmentalize specific factors that impact the place, within a single direction to present a solution or validation of spontaneous

settlements. It is not an analysis but an exploration of an interactive process and the multiplicity of forces which develop the place for what it is. And reliance on my perceptions, interpretation, experience and exposure to those forces.

The introduction of the place can only be understood after experiencing the phenomena of ‘place making’ as demonstrated by the residents. The introduction arises from the consciousness only at the last, and rather because it is last that it is always first. Therefore, based on the reflection on action; the structure of the exploration is dependent on the layering of events, activities and decisions made in consideration to the act of “place making”. Moreover, it precisely layers the events that are experienced by me in December of 1987, which gives this exploration its particular structure. It is important that in the structure I am able to represent the gradual acceptance of my presence and probing questions by the residents. This acceptance is represented by the progressive movement of my exploration from the public space to the more private homes. Consequently, the sub-headings are intentionally not numbered in case of being misinterpreted as categorizing the hierarchy



of my exploration.

The settlement demonstrates the interactive phenomena of human events, with memories, to various cultures in a heterogeneous society. It transcends all religious and ethnic boundaries. The dwellers of the 'Nagar' are a collection of various ethnic backgrounds. Their backgrounds vary from Muslims and Hindus; families migrating from Tamil Nadu, Rajasthan and greater Maharashtra. of an environment.

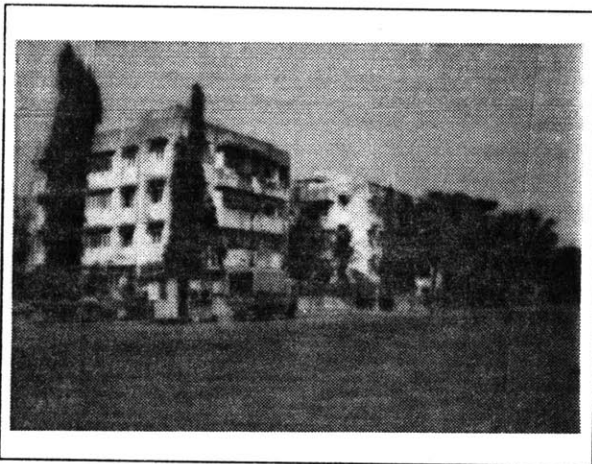
The development and exploration of the heterogeneous community will open new frames of references. These frames will depend on the forces present or lacking at the given time in the context. These are forces of influential external universe which act on the settlements and consequently, results in the dynamic development of such a place. These frames present a unique cross sections of a space subservient to the context, people and their activities at the time of the exploration.

It is this unique form of habitation that has evolved due to the ineffective provisions by the State. The lack of economic and habitation opportunities by the state is expressed in the physical manifestation of squatter settlements and its informal industry for income generation.

These settlements have been successful in creating physical and economic linkages to the city of Bombay; which phenomena, yet to be successfully achieved by the Architects, Planners and Policy

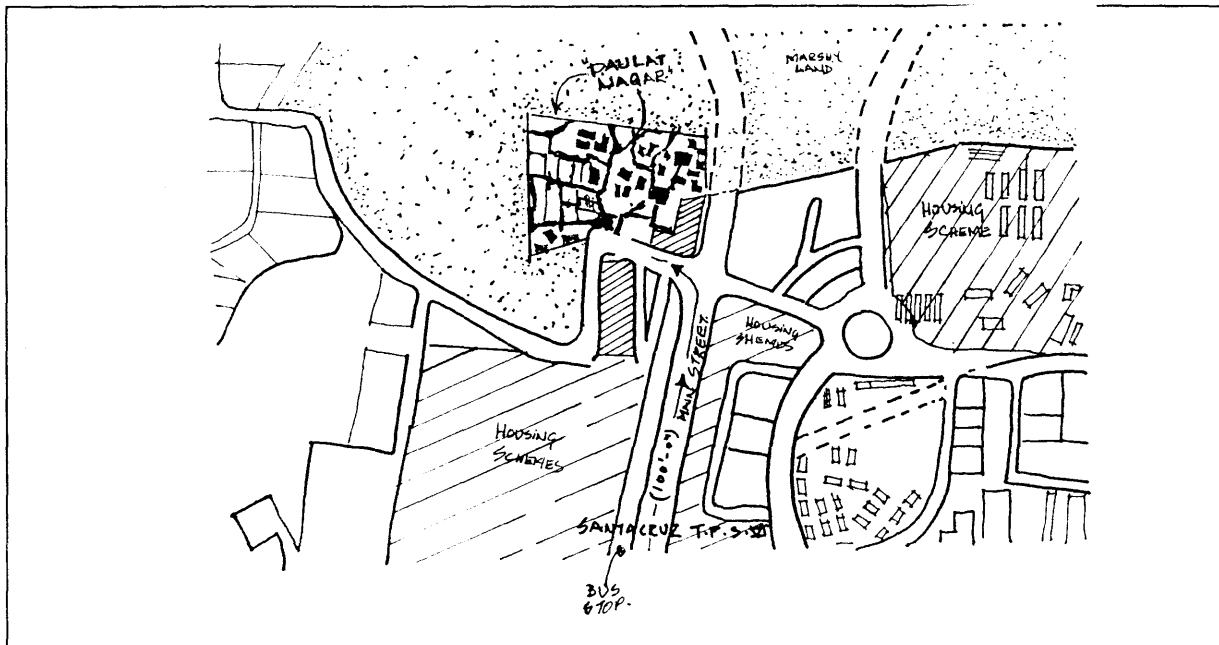
makers in the Third world. One of the many reasons for the failure to provide such linkages is due to the limited analysis implemented by Payne and Nientied which rely on single factors in providing a solution. (chap. III)

It is an exploration of a self sufficient settlement, with the internal history of the environment which constitutes the physical world of streets, houses and spaces while the external history is generated from the socio-cultural, political, and economic forces acting on the occupancy of the environment.. The settlement has survived due to its connections to the outside world of Bombay. Daulat Nagar is selected due to its existence within the dualities and dichotomies of a densely populated cosmopolitan city. Although it has occasioned to have faced frequent threats of demolition by the Bombay Collection Authority. But these threats have not deterred the progressive layering of activities directly connected to the city of Bombay.



Frame 4.2. The Bourgeois Daulat Nagar.





Frame 4.1 The map of Daulat Nagar.

#### opening doors to the 'Nagar'...

I Left Boston with specific directions to Daulat Nagar. They were to be given to the rickshaw driver...!.. at the Santa Cruz train station. However, I decided to take the bus ('point') to Daulat Nagar. I was dropped at a street junction to an area apparently known as Dalaut Nagar. This was not the Daulat Nagar I had seen slides of, at M.I.T. It seemed more a city of wealth, for the bourgeois class who were provided with apartments that was a thirty minute train ride from the city center. The walk from the bus stop allowed me the privilege of local gossip. It enlightened me with the fact, that it was this bourgeois Daulat Nagar that had derived its name from the original squatter settlement that had evolved on the pre-existing marsh lands.

The familiarity to the language and my female gender allowed for some privilege. I was able to

obtain information regarding the pioneers of Daulat Nagar; he came to this area at around 1965; a migrant from the state of Maharashtra. of obtaining answers, and opened doors to the city of wealth. Therefore, a typical formal introduction by local authorities or community workers was not necessary.

After, a tete a tete with the women over a cup of tea, that was warmed by the smiles of the children. I was informed of the domestic service that these women provided to the neighboring apartments. These apartment were built after 1970 and occupied in 1976. I was further informed of the politics applied to maintain this settlement. This will be further elaborated in the following section. I was particular in finishing the hot tea that was offered, so as not to offend my host; the wife of Abdul Hafiz



Frame 4.3. The aftermath of demolition efforts by the Office of Collections.

(a construction worker and a teacher in the mosque/school in Daulat Nagar). While, exploring the settlement I felt like the pied piper for the children and the adults, where the camera with its hypnotic zoom caused quite a following.

**a sense of territorial boundaries...**

In November 1987 the order of demolition of the settlement was proclaimed by the Collectors Office. This threat hovered over the 'Nagar'<sup>1</sup> like a vulture waiting to swoop down at its dying victim. However, the threat was not due to the lack of activity in the place. It was the life, energy, the autonomous control of the informal industry and the independent creation of a place, which was the self destructing trait in the 'Nagar'. Consequently, twenty homes were demolished.

By December, 17 1987 demolition had stopped. The occupants were given reasons, to believe that the demolition team had the incorrect address. But, in

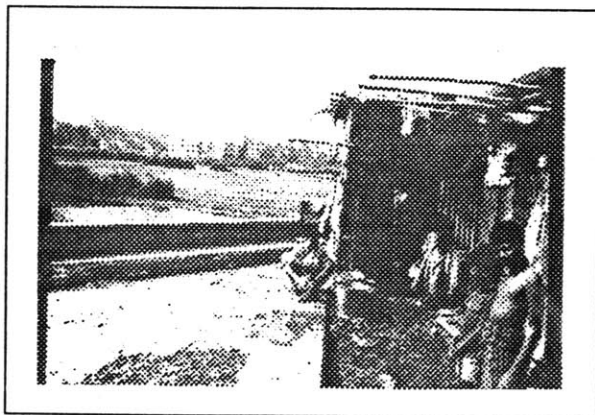
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1. The term 'Nagar' is translated as a place. The use of the term expresses the notion of a place developed by the dwellers it is a self sufficient village.

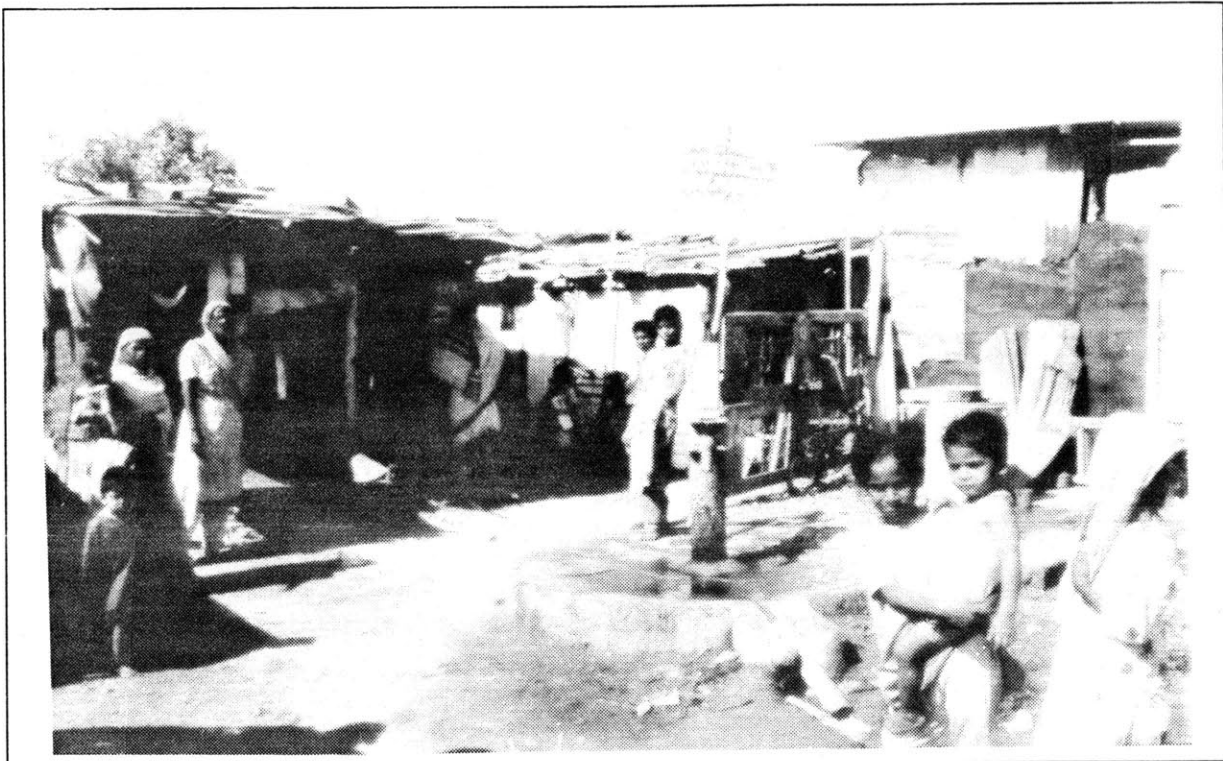
reality it was through the persuasion of the local police force who has put a hold on further demolition efforts. I was later informed that the decision to stop demolition was through the persuasion by the local police who had vested interest. Some of the demolished homes were the property of the police or their relatives. In addition to the contact with the police force; I was informed by the residents of their security cooperative. The residents had employed a vigilante. They had collected money to be given in exchange for the protection of the 'Nagar' from demolition and other threats or calamities. One can argue that this demonstrates a level of control. It is not a hierarchical level of control but rather a communal decision on the security of property and territorial control.

**images to the frame...**

I hesitate, to designate zones to the areas and would have liked to allow the reader, the enjoyment of a journey through frame of images to describe the complexity of 'Daulat Nagar'. But that is not sufficient. Therefore, images are provided for points



Frame 4.4. The 'Nala' or an open drain the closest neighbor.



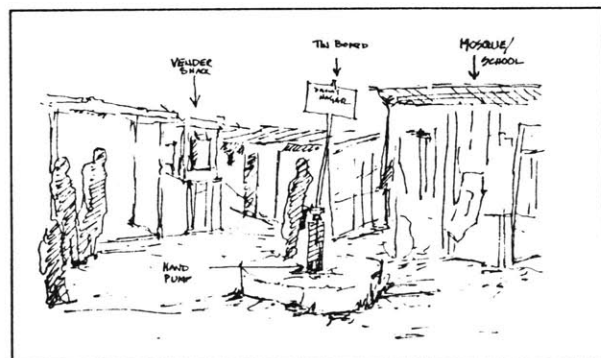
Frame 4.5. The entrance of Daulat Nagar.

of clarification. While the text will explore the varying intensity of habitation and the complexity of networks in the 'Nagar'.

One can debate on the fact whether we should define Daulat Nagar as being located at the end of a dead end street, or whether it is perceived as being located at the beginning. This decision is dependent on the chronological evolution of the 'Nagar' with respect to the contemporary development of the 'bourgeois Daulat Nagar'. One of the closest neighbors of the 'Nagar' is apparently a river or open 'Nala' (what I perceive as an open drain) (frame 4.4) It is a village developed on reclaimed land, known to be owned by the Collection Office- under the municipality of Bandra East and Andheri West.

**power, pride and joy of a place....**

The tin board identifying the Muslim school in the "village" of "Daulat Nagar" is indicative of the entrance. The care in emphasizing the particular religious sect of the settlement reflects the pressures of the minorities in India or any other country. The board with its choice of words is an umbrella as well as a shield. It is used for political and religious



Frame 4.7. The power, pride and joy of a place....



*Frame 4.7. A rickshaw parked at the entrance of the 'Nagar' nest to the vender shack of Shab Noor Bibi.*

manipulation. (frame 4.5) Firstly, it plays an important role in attracting the attention of the religious fanatics in the neighborhood. They are the protectors. to be their savior

Secondly, in announcing a muslim minority settlement reduces the threat of demolition for the 'Nagar'; as the notion of demolition would raises the sensitive issue of minority subjugation and control. This is particularly a sensitive issues in the case of the muslims in India.

Past the board and on the right one notices the joy of the settlement. It is distinguished by the use of a new corrugated sheet metals used for the mosque / school. (frame 4.6) The school/ mosque is used by the larger community as well. A large majority

of the children of Daulat Nagar are apparently registered at the school of the neighboring locality. According to the the teacher Abdul Hafiz; one of the reasons is due to the selection of courses and the level of English taught in that school. The apparent joy of the settlement is the precious hand pump provided by the Municipality. The high level of salinity in the water restrict its use to the cleaning of utensils and the public latrine. The pit latrine is the second joy of the settlement. (frame 4.8) It is provided by the MLA (Member of the Legislative Assembly) prior to elections.

The vender shack reflects a difference sense of power. It is a house owned by Shab Noor Bi Kalander Khan which is not only a look out post for the inhabitation. But it is also used used as a meeting place by the residents to discuss pending issues, while the children use it for recreational purposes. (frame 4.5, 4.7.) Shab Noor Bi is one of those popular individuals. (providing tour to the informal industry to all the new comers) Her personality adds recognition to a place, which prides its self in the building and maintenance of linkages not only within itself but outside of it.



*Frame 4.8. The Pit latrine provided before elections.*



*Frame 4,9 Areas allotted for development on the periphery for new comers to inhabit.*

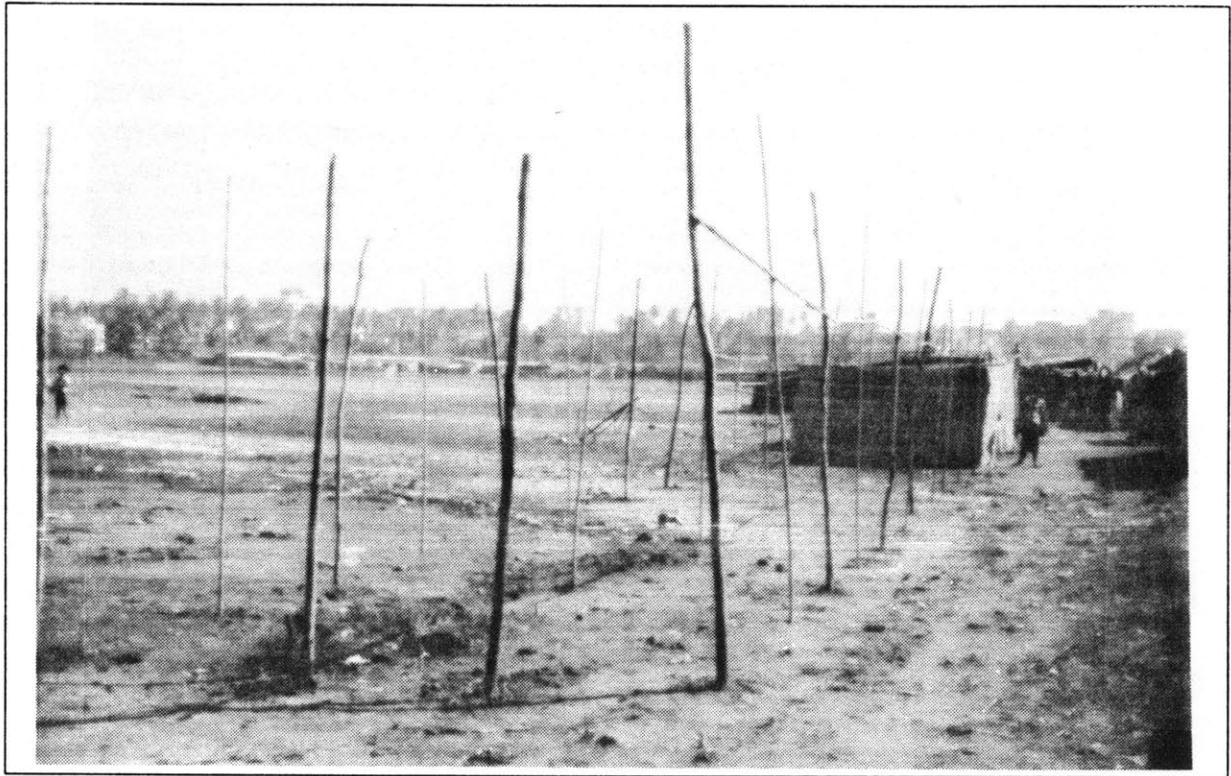
#### spatial emergence of order...

In order to explore a space we have to understand the order within which it functions. Order is not only a mathematical progression or the repetition of an image. Contradictory to common knowledge, there is a tremendous sense of order in Daulat Nagar. It transcending the physical realm on to a structure based on societal relationships, physical proximity and economic need. An extensive talk with Abdul Hafiz the carpenter and construction worker ( with a High School education), and with the mechanic, Sheikh Mohammad Mazhar who migrated from Aurangabad; made me aware of the complexity in the order and structure of such a 'Nagar'. The structure is dependent on the topographic constraints of the site. However, driven by social norms, based on seniority and

relationships; the area can be explored under approximately three hierarchical spatial organizations. All within grey tones of their evolution.

The first area is the densely populated. It marks the entrance of the Nagar with houses opening onto narrow streets. (frame 4.7) Built with a collage of Bamboos, corrugated metal, (if wealthy) a collage of fabrics on bamboo frames. If the owner is in the construction field or has recently returned from working in the United Arab Emirates the house is transformed from bamboo construction to concrete block. The density presents a rich mix use. A variety of uses is demonstrated with the existence of mosques, schools, storage, stables for livestock, workshops and homes all within the same area.



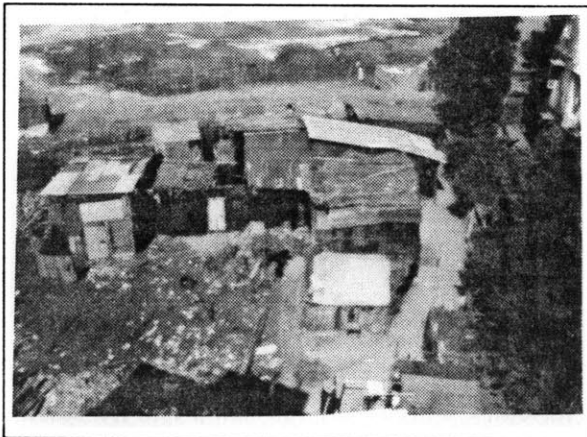


*Frame 4.11 The layout for future growth.*

The density of the “Nagar” fluctuates dependent on the means of income generation and the level of income. If their livelihood requires a yard for storing wood, marble chips, vegetable patch or livestock. (frame 4.10) Therefore, with their returns on investment, the families have claimed a yard or open space to accommodate their life style. These

are seen in the second area, with spaces allotted for the positioning of yards for vegetables, flowers, marble chips, livestock, wood for crates and fire.

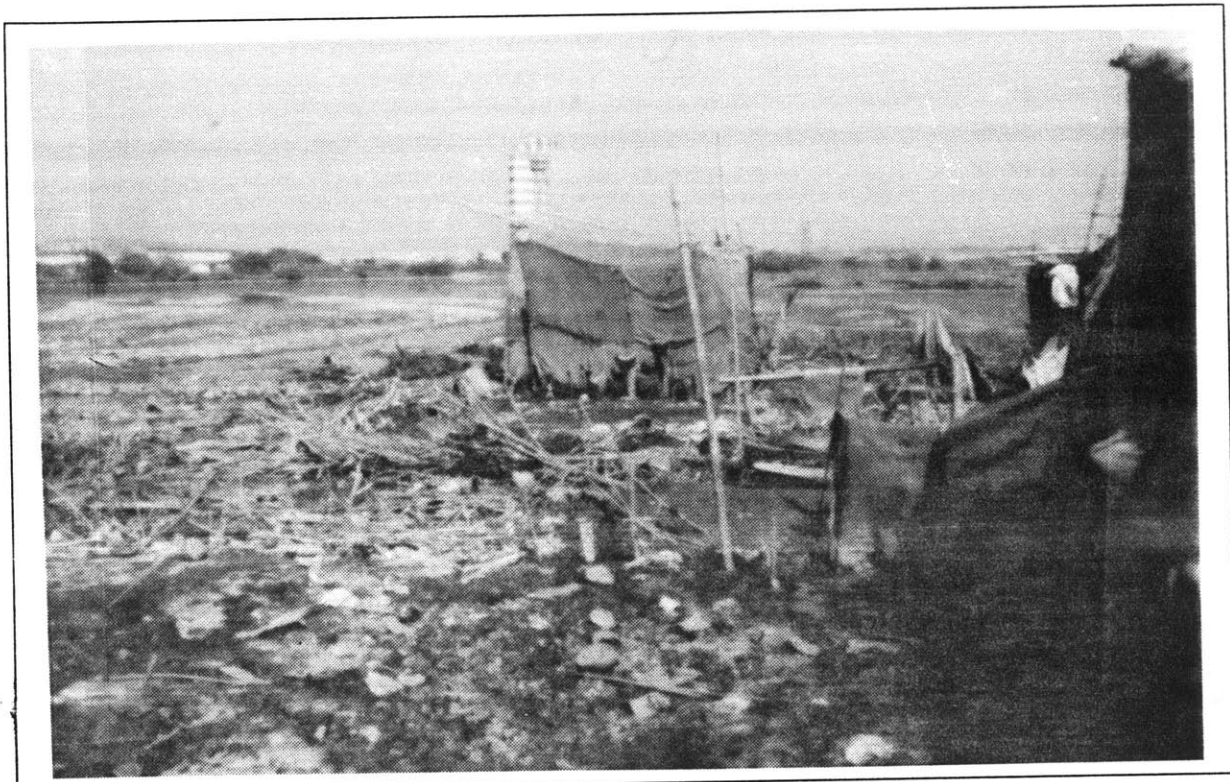
The third area is located on the periphery. (frame 4.9.) These areas are on the edge. They are on a fine line in differentiating between living on land or water. This is the land allotted for new comers and



*Frame 4.10.a. Yards allotted for vegetable patches*



*Frame 4.10.b. Space for storage of products to set up for informal industry*



Frame 4.12. A dynamic reclamation process.

those residents who want to bring the rest of the families from the rural areas to Bombay. These people have to reclaim land (the manner of which is discussed later in the chapter) in order to live in Daulat Nagar. The Bamboo posts are supplied by a resident at a price which under quotes the local bamboo market. (frame 4.11) The occupants have claimed the areas with rows of bamboo posts planted in the new grounds. This announce the future homes and the ongoing development of the 'Nagar', the spirit of the people to build and enrich the place without being intimidated by the threat of demolition. It is a victory of mind over matter. In this case, 'mind' being a political entity; 'matter' being the persevering existence of equal opportunities (an occidental misnomer to be elaborated on further) as a whole community and

not merely individuals striving and competing in the economic market.

**reclamation of memories recorded with growth..** Daulat Nagar is built on reclaimed land. Reclaimed not by the public authorities but by the people themselves. The pioneer to this place was a laborer coming in from the northern areas of Marashtra, twenty years ago.

True to the notion of reclamation: "to bring into useful condition" as waste or neglected land; 'to recover for use from refuse or waste material'; is the basis for the evolution of Daulat Nagar". The notion of reclamation of place society and economic is captured with the modest yet, utilitarian process of land reclamation to the emergence of informal

and recycling industries. The process of land reclamation begins with the placement of branches, palm trees, construction debris and all sorts of garbage from gunny sacks to single shoes and slippers found in the neighboring areas. This is then filled with human and animal excreta, used as binding mortar for consolidating the land. (frame 4.12) (For hygiene purposes reclamation is done in December and January, without the threat of monsoons.) The land thus created is an important investment with respect to real estate development in cities like Bombay. Literally speaking the squatters are "turning shit into gold"

It is this reclamation of land, market, culture and society that the squatters are securing for years to come. The internal organization and the linkages this settlements has developed, provides for the possibility of growing from a rural village with ambitious aspirations, finally, to be part of one of the larger cities of the world.

It is this reality, to the evolution of a place of a new order. The memory of the place recorded in the deepest layer of such a city that provides a potential future for growth. This memory of a single shoe in the foundation of such a place. The opportunity for the palm leaves and the occupants in making a statement of existence in the reality of such rapid development in cities of the Third World. The next paragraph is my perception to the notion of 'opportunity' in this settlement.

**the opportunities...**

The squatters are creators and designers of themselves, yet, in a collective way based on individual expression. (seen later in the variation of the homes) their uniqueness is unparalleled to city projects. The problem lies in the misnomer, of the term "equal opportunity" through community participation a concept generated by occidental institutions. Community participation even at the initial stage of evolution, depend on an implicit understanding and acceptance of a hierarchy within the collective group. This hierarchy then governs the layouts and territorial boundaries of the "Nagar". A place of human existence is never homogeneous, for it would neutralize and develop a threat to the natural order of existence.

A clinical understanding or a psychoanalytical understanding of space and the environment as described by Bloomer and Moore (1977, p. 23) introduces the danger to a reader to perceive the exploration as a data assimilating bank. Although, anthropocentric exploration is critical to understanding and designing dwellings, there is an impecuniousness in the tools used for the implementation, translation and incorporation of these psychoanalytical perceptions, which might limit the existing notions of habitable dwellings places for the common man. Therefore, I will proceed to understand the notion of occupancy before I explore the nature of the house and the built form with the help of a previous documentation of the settlement.



### **haptic occupancy....**

Possession of a house or place, is a feeling that calls on all the senses. It is not only a direct consequence of feeling confirmed haptically<sup>2</sup> (Bloomer and Moore, 1977, p.32) and visually but are an accumulation of decisions made individually or communally towards a conscious enhancement of the environment in question.

We are all conscious of our "spatial" sensibility, at one time or another and more than likely, curious about the sensibility in other peoples worlds. But the curiosity about others world should not limit us, to an external expression of our private feelings, but confirm our own existence in humanity, with an open mind in the interpretation of those ideas developed in the western world, yet sensitive to the nature of spatial sensibility of the eastern norms and conventions and their physical manifestation in built forms.

### **the essence of its type...**

One cannot specifically designate a type to these settlement. The essence of its type is in the collective growth that has allowed for the existence of spaces, places and events that evolve. This settlement can be seen in its totality as a village, with its houses, lanes, its private industry, its agricultural land, its shops and its educational and religious institutions.

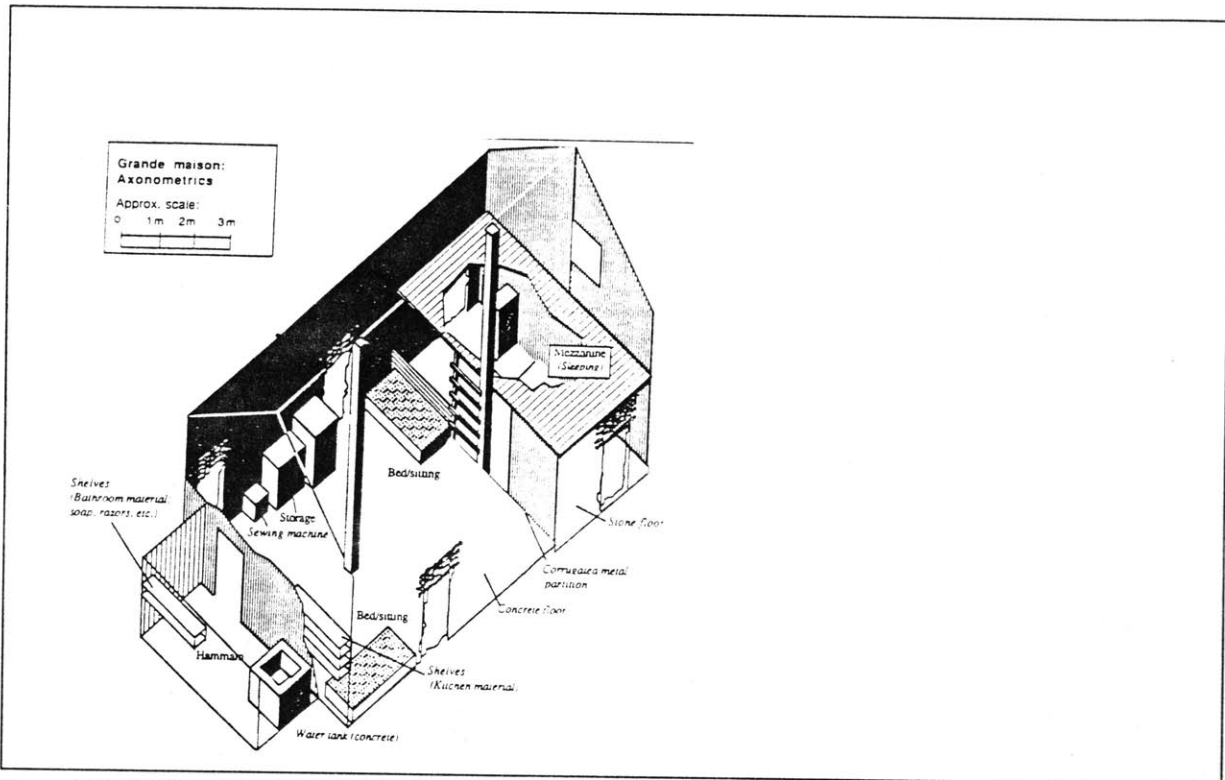
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*2. The property of haptic sensing is called kinesthesia. No other sense deals as directly with the three dimensional world of similarly carries with it the possibility of altering the environment in the process of perceiving it; that is to say no other sense engages in feeling and doing simultaneously. Body Memory ad Architecture. Kent C. Bloomer and Charles W. Moore; Yale University Press 1977 p. 47*

The description of the dwelling is not to be used for setting standards or parameters. It is not for the future design of squatters. They may not be places we would desire to live in. Dwellings as Turner emphasizes is a verb. It is to understand the nature of interactive fields in collective decision making which has resulted in built environment. The dwelling demonstrates the spatial adaptation and the physical interpretation of complex issues of communal, individual and territorial boundaries. The next paragraph reflects on the inappropriateness of replicating such an act of place making.

### **authenticity in the art of place making....**

The notion of comparing others squatter settlements or using these findings for the general understanding to all such settlements is inappropriate. The need for an exploration was in understanding the historical evolutionary phenomena of such villages, that might provide us with some clues to interventions and interactions at various levels of an environment. This can be defined as a work of art . The uniqueness of this work of art is inseparable from its being imbedded in the fabric of tradition. This tradition is in itself thoroughly alive and extremely changeable. It is the the essence of authenticity that is being questioned in the world of form making. As the criterion of authenticity ceases to be applicable for the function of this art is reversed; instead of being based on rituals it has grown to be developed on another practice and politics. Where the noun: housing, is commonly used as a photographic



Frame 4.13 The Grand Maison : axonometric (drawn by Reeves 1988)

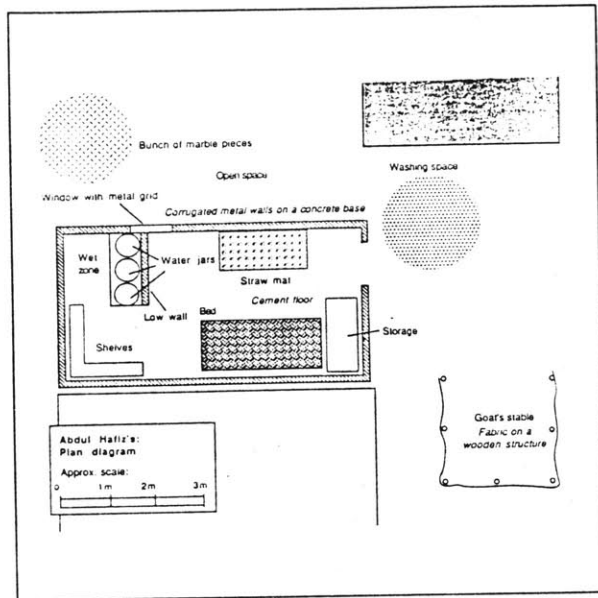
negative .. where one can make any number of prints.

#### multi-dimensions to built form...

The houses are observed with the help of drawings and analysis completed by Nicolas Reeves. (SMArchs 1988) An attempt is made of trying not to idealize the nature of the layout with its representational qualities. A conscious effort has been taken in not presenting dimensional layouts of the houses. For misinterpretation and misuse. The description of the house are dependent on the interior layouts due to the dense positioning of the houses and the lane. Therefore one has a minimum perception of the exterior. The largest structure with maximum exposure to facade, is the house occupied by fifteen people. It was the

structure in which the first squatter inhabited and the village then grew around it. It is constructed with a combination of corrugated metal walls supported by a wood frame and a tiled roof. It is one of the few houses that has a separate bathroom with a concrete water tank. (frame 4.13)

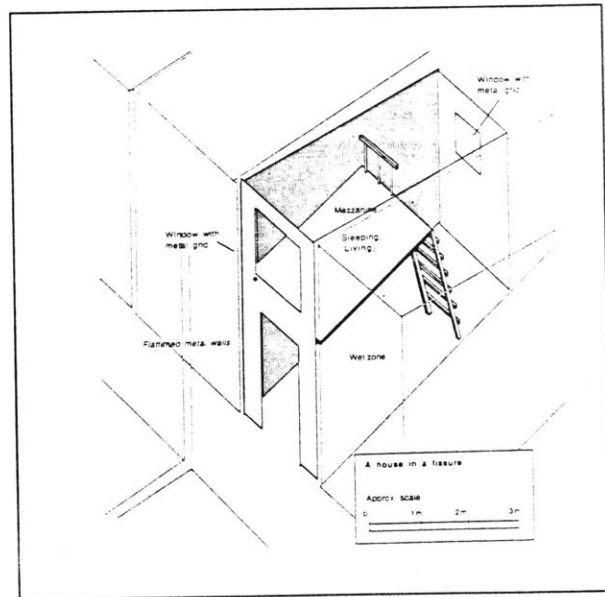
The next house is Abdul Hafiz's home. (Frame 4.15) It was here that I enjoyed the privilege of being invited for tea by Abdul Hafiz's wife. This invitation for tea later extended into a discussion on the consideration of politics and religion as major factors influencing the evolution of the 'Nagar' as mentioned at the beginning of this exploration. The Hafiz family own at least two houses in the settlement, which he rents. The interior is a one room space divided by a low wall for the area



Frame 4.15 Abdul Hafiz's House. (drawn by Reeves 1988)

designated for cleaning and bathing. The exterior wall is constructed of corrugated metal on a concrete base.

Another variety of a house in the 'Nagar' is the one without a facade. (frame 4.16) The house cannot be identified by its external form. It is built in a left over space between two previous house and is barely six feet long. The only evidence of its existence is the presence of the door. For utilitarian purposes this house has automatically developed a mezzanine for all its activities. Due to the nature of the site there is a conscious effort to incorporate the wet zones as part of the spatial organization. The wet zone is distinctly separated by a concrete wall in the 'house with a small facade' or designated with the use of the first floor in 'the house in the fissure'.



Frame 4.16 A house in a fissure. (drawn by Reeves 1988)

### entrepreneurs of Daulat Nagar...

The birth of Daulat Nagar was due to the availability of economic opportunities in a city center. It is within this frame work of a self sufficient network with the development of an informal industry, a commercial setup or even being an enterprising mechanic for the neighborhood.

Unlike the singular garbage recycling industry performed by the pipe settlements of Santa Cruz. Daulat Nagar is provides a variety of income generation, specific to the family or individual interests. There is lady Khan who provides the tailoring facilities to the Nagar and its neighborhood, with the help of the other women of the 'Nagar' in the neighboring flats, who are able to do an extensive amount of public relations, to provide her with client for small job. The mechanic's after hours operation, is out of his recently demolished home, strategically positioned

at the entrance of Daulat Nagar, provide access to the neighboring facilities and cliental. While the Christian priest within the Hindu temple seduces his parish with intriguing crosses and rosary's made of sandal wood, plated silver, common metal and marble bartered with Mohommad Hafiz in return for washing soap or sandals.

It is the internal linkages and connection which has provided Daulat Nagar the opportunity to maintain its position as a self sufficient village, yet quite dependent on a larger network for its survival.

#### **parameters to territories...**

The unique texture of Daulat Nagar is not only dependent on the financial restrictions but on the evolutionary process. It is a village with distinct set of hierarchy of spaces with the circulation patterns and territorial boundaries. The concept of public and private realms is not clearly designated. The concept of fixed territorial depth is inappropriate to Daulat Nagar; as it is in its evolution continuously redefining the vocabulary of 'place making'.

The structure of Daulat Nagar is analogous to a courtyard house. The entrance of the courtyard house is in a sense a societal connection which permits entry as well as a place for collective activities. Territorial boundaries change with the migration of new settlers into Daulat Nagar. In this case a territory is not built to keep things, people, events and culture out (as used by the British) but, to include and incorporate the new rural migrant within the development of the place. However the invitation to live in Daulat Nagar is based on the

new migrant connection with Daulat Nagar; this might be through community, religion, neighborhood or family connections. Therefore, the position of the dwellings in the periphery of the settlements, does not, necessarily present an act of exclusion from the Nagar. The extensions of the territorial domain is demonstrated by the link to Chuna Bhati, a village at a distance of three miles. The initiative of the residents to obtain drinking water from the neighboring settlement. This extends the territory of security, resources and support for Daulat Nagar. It also provides a strong foundation in the building of a larger community.

The following paragraphs are my concluding reflection on my perceptions of a place limited by my knowledge, exposure and experience to such places.

#### **a place bounded by word...**

Culture today is strongly dominated by the 'word', we tend to forget that words are only one way for people to interact. However, non-verbal forms of communication are like a language and therefore, allow us to translate the meaning they convey into words. This cannot be taken for a translation of English to French. As language cannot convey into words the meaning of the spatial operations of an environment. It is legitimate to say that methods can be used as a language, unique not because it stands for all human experiences but because it allows a dimension of its own to it, provided, it does not smother and dominate the environment created through the dialogue.

The term 'squatter' predicates a negative connotation to settlement. It accepts their illegal position and assumes criminal activities, devoid of a tradition or culture. The occidental term 'shantytowns' and 'hutments' may be expressing their physical presence but this description allows for a generalization, a callousness towards their existence which is not necessarily present in all cases.

In conclusion, words seem inadequate to discover all the social interaction and the role of artifacts on the lives of such settlement. Necessary to my exploration is the use of visual images to convey to the reader and to allow him/her to formulate his/her own perceptions to the space. These individual perceptions are in themselves a major contribution towards the dynamics of a place. As a component of this exploration is about *perceptions of reality familiar or alien to us and our interpretations of these notions and builds on our knowledge, experience and educational background.*



## Reflective realities

In reflection the following paragraphs are a collection of random thoughts which are by no means concluding this thesis, but providing some thought in the development of ones universe of cross section in the built environment.

### Seeing both the trees and the forest.

A schism presently existing lies in the short sightedness and specificity on behalf of the professionals and the theoreticians. Skeptics charge them with the limitation of only seeing the forest and not the preciousness of the individual trees or vice versa. What is important to realize, is not only the connection between the forest and the trees. Furthermore an exploration of the roots that allow these particular trees to nourish\_\_the realities; owing to the nature of the geo-social conditions and the location of of a forest.

Flowing in the same vein, is my skepticism in providing ideas in designing dew drops in a green house. A predetermined set of intentions which govern the result, justified for aesthetics, traditionalism and problem solving. The universe of my concerns is taken from a infinite list of interactive factors that constitute the realities of \_\_ place making in attempt to question the inadequacy and deficit of an urban city.

Squatter settlements, specifically in a developing

country are apparently seen as, a reaction to the inadequacy of the state, in providing dwellings for the immigrants in the urban centers. But in reality they are seen as solution to the inappropriate housing solutions. The more affluent perceive them as economic parasites and that any assistance given to them in the form of housing or services will therefore attract more and increase problems still further. This argument however, fails to recognize the fact that migrants generally move for the need to work, rather than the need for a dwelling. Moreover, the urban poor make a collectively substantial contribution to both urban and regional economies. Synonymous to the image of squatter settlements is, the derelict's paradise, spaces with minimum levels of hygiene and notorious for a high crime rate. Although, the Squatter settlements are referred to settlements established by a group of people without official authorization on a piece of land which does not belong to them, and is usually public property.

My interest in these settlement is for their future in existing within such complex systems of connections. The reality, the 'being' of their fate is dependent on their existence on the edge; daily swaying from the dilemma of eradication to the possibilities of relocation or upgradation. It is with an optimistic thought to the latter two situations, which allows the possibility to consider

some form of a design commitment in maintaining the linkages to the socio- economic existence of that particular environment and neighborhood.

The question that arises rest in the inquiry of the criteria of the private and public distinctions. It distinguish and redefine the inherent social structure within the layout of the settlements. The use of the infamous 'community participation', the understanding of community verses individual participation in order to develop an environment for the common man. How do we incorporate the architects intentions towards image and form making prior to the internal energy of the people or place. In these settlements the sincerity to 'place making demonstrates the socio - economic opportunities generated which are applied not as hidden agendas but, born out of the structure the evolution of the settlement pattern.

It is these indigenous mechanism which continue to power the deficit, leftover by the city administration. Here the selection of images can be used as windows to changes within the spatial order, with some perceptions towards the constant shifts within the world in context to the immediate past and to the future. Finally, with a continuing thought of conserving<sup>1</sup> the present values towards a sense of contextual continuity and not merely the ephemeral essence of time past.

There patterns are composed of organization and

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1. Conserving is defined as the interactive process of the maintenance of the critical aspect of life, i.e social, cultural and temporal within the sprite of time.

hierarchy. It is the system by which they are related that allows us to make sense of a bounded space. These settlement patterns are composed of piecemeal response to the socio -economic dilemma of unemployment with minimum consideration to the factors of image. Where circumstantial occurrences have led to greater forces in the development that predetermined order. Spontaneous settlements reflect an inner world of landmarks, coordinates and hierarchies and especially boundaries, which serve as, human starting point for the organization around us, which more than being perceived is inhabited by us.

Official programs, driven by and having a reliance on a single method; unless recognizing and supporting these spontaneous efforts, will remain ineffective. At best they can reach out to other groups; at worst, they are costly to the poor and exclude them from benefits they have created largely for themselves. Inappropriate and restrictive policies of access to land, basic infrastructure and services deny them opportunities that were once accessible.

#### **Historical ideas.....**

The historical understanding of the place may be attributed to the interpretations which is a flux between values of the observer and the character of the object. It is generally, recognized that the observer interprets the objects with a set of personal and cultural values. However relativity demands that we recognize that the object has a history.<sup>2</sup>



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The building up of place making in spontaneity, is based on a number of factors in the internal history of a place i.e changes in memory, presence of occupation, spatial movement, perceptions, historical precedents, economics, politics, market forces, equal opportunity, culture and the bureaucratic network common to all of us, in urban cities.

Foucault defines the 'history of ideas' as; 'Ideas here is not the concept developed by knowledgeable researchers in a particular field; they are defined by public opinions, common sense and general consensus.' In time history is claimed to be the juxtapositioning of accidents and conjectures at a given time and place. Raimond Abraham presents history as a dotted line, where it is not the dots that are of major consequence but the distance between them; which allows the nurturing and the genesis of such life in space. The settlements constitute the object of the study of such a history; and its effect on those factors presented in the introduction. Part of the study is to constitute an architectural education to explore "the socio-spatial context within which architects will work in the new future".

These observations do not in any way attempt to limit the definition of such places. We view these settlements on grounds, for a potential dialogue

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*2. This history of a place is full of accidents, conjectures and curious juxtapositions of events. It can be divided approximately into two areas: the internal history i.e the economic, cultural political and market forces influencing the physical formation of place, and the external history which is the physical and spatial forms i.e. the walls, roof, circulation patterns, outside and inside spaces of the place. etc.*

created between the state and the common man in efforts to emancipate ourselves from the urban paralysis. A condition born out of the nature of the political and bureaucratic order, presently dictating and mutilating the growth and change of the urban fabric.

The preceding explorations will hopefully concede to, housing that could be integrated into existing communities rather than develop as disjointed and misplaced new towns. Since, the former action applied without destroying the contextual fabric or losing access to the web of social, emotional and physical nostalgia. On the one hand, such environments will allow us to act without requiring a conscious choice, where a setting may encourage behavior, through the presence of its form that is deeply rooted in a socio-cultural and economic context. On the other hand, if we are considering the notion of a new suburbia, we need to understand and interweave the spirit of action of that time with a sense of place for the immigrants within this new setting.

The historic over emphasis on form making and the compartmentalization of functions deviates from the observations of "place making". It results in an architectural model which is not only experimentally imbalanced but in danger of being restrictive and exclusive. An emphasis on empirical data presents a singular image to a place. Especially, if it is suppressed of meaning and memory in architecture. How can it provide an alternative to excessive and disorienting events

and rapid changes in the environment? On the one hand it does not reflect the impact of the external influences on a place. While on the other hand it does not accommodate for the activities and rapid changes in the place.

Gaston Bachelard in the Poetics of Space (1985, p.138) provides the example of Emily who

*had been playing in a nook right in the bow (of a boat) and tiring of it she was walking rather aimlessly aft... when it suddenly flashed into her mind that she was SHE.*

Therefore, the expansion of our identity requires a greater recognition of our senses and the larger context of the city. We can develop memories of an inside world that include a panorama of experiences taken from the environment and etched into dwellings. These are expressive of our need to identify to the rapidly changing urban cities of developing countries.

## The realities

"Tomorrow's city will not be one of mass produced projects controlled by the bureaucracy and replicated according to norms that do not confirm to realistic circumstances. Tomorrow's city will be built by the poor striving to better their living conditions through networks that they control and opportunities that they make for themselves.

In the case of upgrading agendas need to be made explicit with an open mind in the interpretation of these ideas developed in the western world yet sensitive to the complex nature of the spatial

sensibility of the eastern norms and conventions and their physical manifestation of it forms.

Curiously, the wholesale of inhuman "social" manipulation in urban forms by twentieth-century architectural and planning offices has put a disproportionate emphasis on originality on the unique. They believe, the design of the environment is a choreography of the familiar and the surprising but where the familiar has a central role, and a major function of the surprising is to render the familiar afresh. The operative word in this notion is "familiar"; where I question the familiarity of the method? On the bases as to whom is this concept familiar to the people or the creator? And what are the reason for the familiarity what does it predicate or dictate? Who does it control? These question need to be considered while adopting occidental methodologies to developing countries.

Relocation programmes demonstrated in the form of site and services projects present special situations. The reality of what should be given in comparison to that which is provide by the public sector reflect two different worlds. The world of image making benefited by the power elite. (as seen in the Navagamgoda project and the control methodology used by the SAR) The reality of basic habitable needs and the provision of resources to benefit from The Navagamgoda sites and services project provokes questions on the concept of social obligation verses image making.

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The process of upgrading advocates the accessibility to the resources of the city. It is apparently able to provide for a place; is to be able to interact and communicate effectively to the surroundings and the economic conditions pertaining to the demand for housing and income generation. The control reduces the interactive connections to the city and the settlement. An exploration of spontaneous settlements question the operational rational of a large architectural office which, serve the aggregate corporate client and regards notion of human habitation as problems of organization and control. Suppressing the indigenous instincts of habitation and employment and economic concerns we are confronted with the urban embryo in developing countries.

The churning out of undifferentiated urban cells (Bloomer & Moore 1977) for the masses. Those environment which are created with specific typology, and segregated use control the nurturing of activities and experiences to provide to does not allow for the and separating the old from the young does not. To help people inhabit the world is not only by facilitating and acting as moderators to the various resources available and waiting to be tapped, but recognizing the qualities within the people in providing for themselves and encouraging that trait in the development of dwellings and place making.

It is therefore suggested that an approach that promotes existing process linked to improve general conditions (i.e security of tenure, access to

resources, appropriate zoning policies) could help distribute benefits equitably. As presented by Benjamin (1985 p.9) "a support policy can not negate existing process and attempt to formulate "new" ideas in the form of packaged projects as "solutions to problems" he is not only concerned with the support policies but am concerned in taking one step back in the policy making process. The yesterdays of today's policy making are critical in housing project. In most cases it is the methods of analysis that help develop policies. Therefore in concern for policy of improved general conditions we have to not only study and analyses the methodologies used in discovering spontaneous settlements but analyses those methods that are applied for making dwelling environments. My concern is towards the inadequate and misinterpreted occidental methodologies that are usually incorporated as model for exploring and the later building of dwelling environments. It is these notion that have brought my attention to projects such as Navagamgoda and the implementation of the SAR to Cairo. My particular interest is in the single minded evaluation which eventually leads to a specific solution or a new discovery

In the article 'Realistic planning and Qualitative Research' Peattie argues for the realism grounded in the concern for the lives of the people and common sense; I advocated by Otto Koenigsberger. It is common to find planning - both by government and via private consultants - ideologically loaded abstractions dressed up as practicality. Here the calculation of 'deficit' based on bad data relating

to poor categories may be joined with 'programmes' constituting at best very partial solutions to the existing problems and at worst exacerbating them through slum clearance.

There is a tendency to interpret such plans and minds sets or inquiries and decision to places, as representing 'a lack of sophistication' (Peattie R, 1983 p.227). But surely is more than just planning and ideologies. Unrealistic planning carries with it a burden of institutional interests of groups who benefit from over bided projects. Not forgetting the governments which need to appear as committed to development and growth. They then execute a set of policies or methods benefiting a hand full, justified by the high standards for everyone.

Thus to emphasize the need for realistic dwelling places in developing countries, we require not only an intellectual grasp (Peattie R, 1983 p.227). of the working of these cities with, motivation and convictions to the place, but require a qualitative approach to the search towards informative place making. This Pre-occupation with the physical aspects of planning, rather than their socio-economic context, has led to widespread attempts to impose inappropriate forms of 'balanced, ordered and controlled' growth.

According to Castells this increasing politicization of urban affairs has rendered even more decrepit as urban sociology based on the perspective of social integration and the adaptation of migrants of rural origins to the urban culture of modern

society. Such urban are inserted into a web of social and political strategies and are redefined and transformed according to power relations. The central objective of such an analysis has been the network of strategies among actors, each one of whom is defined by the attempts to maximize power and gain.

More over, in order to account for the relations between political processes, urban contradictions, and general social interests i.e the economic, political and ideological interests of the social class and its context. We have to consider two forms of analysis:

The first concern is towards studies that usually roman at the level of the local community, although urban problems are determined by general social forces and structures. (Hill 1974) Therefore in order to understand the logic of these specific traits, we must locate them within their general determinants.

Second we cannot analyze the a social and political process independently from its structural context and from the web of structural interest which determines it. (Alford and Friedland, 1975; Cloward and Piven, 1974) Consequently we cannot analyze urban problem isolated to the actor and their strategies, with out first analyzing the contradictions in the socio-spatial and economic structure. These contradiction will objectively define the social economic and political interests at stake and will allow for an understanding of the unfolding of the political process.

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Urban problems are increasingly considered as priorities in political programs and in the daily lives of people, urban sociology seems more and more incapable of providing scientific answers to these problems. That is it can describe problems but is incapable of explaining the process at work. We can agree on the fact that even though empirical research is an indispensable moment in any demonstration it is hardly sufficient. Research data needs to be something other than an image of reality at a specific time and place, since reality is always changing the data should be used to verify hypotheses which in themselves have to be integrated in a cumulative evolving body of knowledge. 'Grand theories of the past has set precedent to distrust abstract constructions that become formal games. Yet this distrust should not lead the researcher to abandon the search for the understanding for the relationship between empirical observation and explanatory theoretical schemes; such a relationship constitutes the means for social scientists to understand social action beyond specific concrete situations. Particularly in the certain fields of sociology: the sociology of social mobility, sociology of development etc.

Therefore let me at once be clear that having opened Pandora's box, I shall close it quickly and return home. (The return to the home is not expressive of a despondent situation but practice in the third world provides a challenge to us architects exposed to the occidental way, rule and norms.) For there is too much about these questions that I do not understand and must not pretend to, but I know that the levels of enlightenment may not all be in

the physical and academic setting of this thesis. Therefore I proceed on the physical environment which is manipulated thorough occidental methods.

But I believe I see the numerous directions in which answers to them might be sought, and I shall conclude with an attempt not to mark the trail but allow for question to be posed to emancipate us from the paralysis in designing for the common man within the urban environment of developing countries.



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## Appendix- A

## Maulana Azad College Questionnaire:

Site:	Interviewee:	Hut No:	Date
1.0 Background		Respondent	Other Adults
1.1 Place of origin of respondent and other adults in household			
1.2 Reason for migrating Why Delhi: Why this site:			
1.3 How this job was obtained:			
2.0 Present situation			
2.1 Family here and in village:			
2.2 Relationship to neighbours:			
2.3 Existing house: (Sketch layout): Area, No. of rooms, Plot size, materials:			
2.4 Village house: Area, size, No. of rooms, plot size, materials:			
2.5 How are communal areas used: Water source: Washing Toilets Sleeping Entertainment Privacy			
2.6 Reasons for present layout:			

3.0 Future Needs and Aspirations:	
3.1 What improvements planned: To existing site layout: house: open areas:	
3.2 Service requirements	



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